DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 085 645 CG 008 587

AUTHOR Straus, Murray A.; And Others
TITLE Theories, Methods, and Controversies in the Study of Violence Between Family Members.
PUB DATE Jun 73
NOTE 73p.

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS Behavioral Science Research; *Family Problems; *Parent Child Relationship; Research Methodology; Siblings; *Social Problems; *Theories; *Violence

ABSTRACT

With the exception of intra-family murder and child abuse, there has been very little research on violence between family members. However, preliminary results of this study indicate that even at age 17 and 18, 62 percent of siblings had hit each other during the previous 12-month period. Also, physical fights between husband and wife have occurred in over half of all marriages. The authors summarize theories of family violence and propose specific areas of further research. The theories of violence fall into three categories: (1) intra-individual theories; (2) social-psychological theories; and (3) socio-cultural theories. The proposals for research are followed by a discussion of research methodology. (RWP)

ED 085645

June 1973 V7

THEORIES, METHODS, AND CONTROVERSIES IN THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN FAMILY MEMBERS*

Murray A. Straus
University of New Hampshire

Richard J. Gelles
University of Rhode Island

Suzanne K. Steinmetz
Temple University

Contents

Page

MYTHS AND DEVIANCE DISAVOWAL AS MORPHOSTATIC PROCESSES..... 2

TYPES OF FAMILY VIOLENCE..... 5

- Legitimacy
- Instrumentality
- A four cell taxonomy
- Legitimate-Expressive Violence
- Illegitimate-Expressive Violence
- Legitimate-Instrumental Violence
- Illegitimate-Instrumental Violence
- Which Norms?
  1. The "Offender"
  2. The "Victim"
  3. Joint perspective
  4. Agents of control
  5. The investigator

FREQUENCY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE..... 16

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE..... 20

- Intra-Individual
- Social-Psychological
- Socio-Cultural

- Intra-Individual Theories
  - Psychopathology
  - Alcohol and Drugs

- Social-Psychological Theories
  - Frustration-Aggression
  - Learning Theory
  - Self-Attitude Theory
  - Clockwork Orange Theory

- Socio-Cultural Theories
  - Function Theory
  - Structural Theory
  - Culture of Violence Theory
  - General Systems Theory
  - Resource Theory

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

CG 008 587

FILMED FROM BEST AVAILABLE COPY

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY..... 36

Intra-Individual Theories and Family Violence
Social Psychological Theories and Family Violence
Socio-Cultural Theories and Family Violence
Toward a Theory of Family Violence

CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF FAMILY VIOLENCE IN NEED OF RESEARCH..... 40

The family is preeminent in all types of violence
Families today are less (or more) violent than in the 19th century
Violence does not occur in "normal" families
Family members who use violence are mentally ill or excessively aggressive
Alcohol causes family violence
The lower the socioeconomic status of the family, the more violence
Husbands and fathers are more violent than wives and mothers
Sexual equality and new family forms will reduce violence
Materialism and striving are associated with violence
Violence in the family has positive functions
Other controversies

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH ON FAMILY VIOLENCE..... 51

Contacting Subjects and Establishing Rapport
Snowball sampling
Rapport

Revealed Violence
Projective Techniques
Indirect Interviews
Adult child as observers
Laboratory experimental methods

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS..... 61

THEORIES, METHODS, AND CONTROVERSIES IN THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE BETWEEN FAMILY MEMBERS*/

Murray A. Straus
University of New Hampshire

Richard J. Gelles
University of Rhode Island

Suzanne K. Steinmetz
Temple University

In some ways the issue of physical violence between family members is a matter of long standing interest to sociologists. Every student of homicide, for example, knows that more murder victims are members of the same family than any other category of murder-victim relationship (Palmer, 1972; Wolfgang, and Ferracutti, 1967) and a few sociologists have studied child abuse (Gil, 1971; Gelles, 1973a). However, these are extreme forms of physical violence. They have received the attention of sociologists because they are dramatic, leave unignorable physical evidence, and because the general public recognizes and is concerned with murder and child abuse as social problems.

But murder of one family member by another, or the severe injury of a child by a parent, only scratch the surface of what we think is a vastly more widespread phenomenon. After all, even the U.S. murder rate (one of the highest in the world) is "only" 7 or 8 per 100,000, and the rate for officially reported cases of child abuse place the figure at 9.3 per 100,000 children, although estimates based on survey research are many times higher (Gil, 1970). Other types of physical violence between family members are far more common but are rarely recognized by either the general public or social scientists. For example, evidence from our exploratory studies suggests that physical fights between husband and wife have occurred in over half of all marriages. Physical fights between siblings are so common as to be almost universal. Even at age 17 and 18, our exploratory data indicate that 62 percent of siblings had hit each other during a twelve month period. The use of physical punishment by parents is also

near universal in occurrance, although some may not wish to consider physical punishment as violence because of the presumed benevolent intent. Leaving aside the fact that the intent is far from always benevolent, the fact remains that,whatever the intent, when a parent hits a child, he or she is carrying out an act which exactly fits our definition of violence, namely, the intentional use of physical force to cause pain or injury to another person.[1/]

In addition to these figures on the prevelance of physical force as a widespread--in fact, almost universal--aspect of family relationships, there are also strong theoretical grounds for both expecting and explaining the prelevence of violence between family members. William Goode, for example, holds that the basic structure of the family as we know it is ultimately based on the use of force and violence (or threat of such use) either by the family members themselves or the society interested in maintaining this structure (Goode, 1971).

MYTHS AND DEVIANCE DISAVOWAL AS MORPHOSTATIC PROCESSES

If "ordinary" physical violence between family members is as widespread and readily observable as we have just indicated, and if such violence is predictable and explainable using the standard tools of sociological analysis, why is the fact of such widespread violence generally unrecognized and why has it received so little attention in sociological research? We believe it is an example of "selective inattention" (Dexter, 1958) by both laymen and social scientists. This selective inattention is a structurally and psychologically motivated inability to perceive and attend to what would otherwise be visable all around us: brothers and sisters fighting, parents hitting children, and husbands and wives using physical force to settle disputes.

What then are the structural and psychological factors which produce the selective inattention? The most general factor is what we have called "the myth of family non-violence" (Steinmetz and Straus, 1973). The family is usually thought of as a group committed to non-violence between its members. Family members are supposed to maintain an affectional and loving relationship. Yet, as we have already suggested, violence is so common as to be almost universal.

So there is a discrepency between the idealized picture of the family--that is,the cultural norms and values--and what actually goes on in the family. The idealized picture of family life is a useful and perhaps even a necessary social myth. The utility of the myth results from the fact that the family is a tremendously important social institution. Therefore, elaborate precautions are taken to strengthen and support the family. In Western countries one of these supportive devices is the myth or ideology of familial love and gentleness. This ideology helps encourage people to marry and to stay married. It tends to maintain satisfaction with the family system despite the stresses and strains of family life (Ferreira, 1963). Thus, from the viewpoint of preserving the integrity of a critical social institution, such a mythology is highly useful. At the same time, the semi-sacred nature of the family has prevented an objective analysis of the exact nature of intra-familial violence. There is a tendency to deny or to avoid consideration of the widespread occurence of violence between members of "normal" families. This is the myth of family non-violence.

Given the myth of family non-violence, some mechanism must come into play to deal with the fact that violence rather than non-violence is typical of the structure of family relationships. On theoretical grounds we would also expect to find some mechanism for reconciling the fact that American

society is simultaneously committed to norms legitimizing, and in some situations, requiring physical violence between family members; but, at the same time, also committed to norms which condemn or prohibit violence. For example, parents have the clear right to use physical force on children and many do up through late adolescence (Straus, 1971; Steinmetz, 1974). Moreover, many parents feel it is their duty, and in the best interests of their children, to use physical punishment (Stark and McEvoy, 1970).

We suggest that a major mechanism for reconciling the conflict between the myth of family non-violence and the actual high level of violence, and a major mechanism for reconcilling the conflicting norms to be loving and non-violent with the norms permitting or requiring violence is what has been called "deviance disavowal" (Davis, 1961; McCaghy, 1968). This operates at both an individual psychological level and at the community and societal level.

There are many forms of deviance disavowal in relation to family violence, of which we will mention only two as a means of illustrating the point. As a first example, there is the tendency to deny the fact that physical punishment is a form of violent behavior. Rather, the focus is on the presumed beneficial outcome for the child rather than on the use of violence as the means to that end. Thus, the aspect of this form of parental behavior which is at variance with the family norms of love, gentleness, and non-violence can be ignored. A second illustration of the way in which the everyday violence between family members is disavowed to render it consistent with the norms of non-violence and the need to preserve the structure of the family is to attribute violent acts to the temporary or pathological effects of alcohol or mental illness. Gelles (1973b) presents case evidence illustrating how women married to repeatedly violent husbands can still think

of the husband as non-violent. As one of the women he interviewed put it:

> Mrs. (75): He hit me once. It wasn't very long ago. The baby was about 2 months old--November--we were fighting about something. I have a habit of not keeping my mouth shut. I keep at him and at him and he finally turned around and belted me. It was my fault. I asked for it.

TYPES OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

As a first step in correcting for the selective inattention to the phenomenon of violence between family members, it is important to establish the bare descriptive facts concerning just how much violence actually occurs. But to do this in a scientifically meaningful way requires some kind of conceptual framework. It is the absence of such a framework which makes one immediately suspicious of statements such as we have made concerning the near universality of violence in the family. Although a parent spanking a child and a wife throwing a pot at her husband both involve the use of physical force to cause pain or injury, more may be lost than gained by grouping them together if they are conceptually different in other important respects.

Dimensions of Violence. There are a number of dimensions which can be used to construct a taxonomy of family violence, for example, who the initiating and recipient actors are, the extent to which the violence is victim precipitated, the severity of the violence or injury, etc. All of these things will be important for certain purposes. However, we suggest that there are

two dimensions of violence which are likely to be important in any consideration of family violence. These are the degree to which the use of violence in a given situation is legitimized by social norms and the degree to which the use of violence is for instrumental purposes. Although each of these two dimensions are continuous, for clarity of exposition we will dichotomize them.

Legitimacy. In respect to the legitimacy dimension we will call one end of the continum "legitimate violence". This refers to the use of physical force in situations where it is approved or required by the norms of the society, such as spanking a child in most societies or flogging a prisoner in some societies, or shooting an enemy soldier in time of war. The "illigitimate violence" side of the dichotomy refers to such acts as spanking a disobedient wife in contemporary American society or shooting a soldier of a country with which there is not an official or unofficial war underway.

Instrumentality. For the instrumentality dimension we distinguish "expressive violence" and "instrumental violence". By expressive violence we mean the use of physical force to cause pain or injury as an end itself--for example, hitting someone who is the source of anger, insult, or rage. By "instrumental violence," we mean the use of pain or injury as a punishment to induce another person to carry out some act or refrain from an act.

A difficulty with this dichotomy as a single dimension is that expressiveness and instrumentality are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In fact, there will be many situations where an instrumentally focused violent act also contains strong expressive components. In addition, it seems likely that there can be casual linkage between expressivity and instrumentality in the use of violence. That is, a family member who is aggressive and who obtains satisfactions from the infliction of pain on others may, as a result, tend to

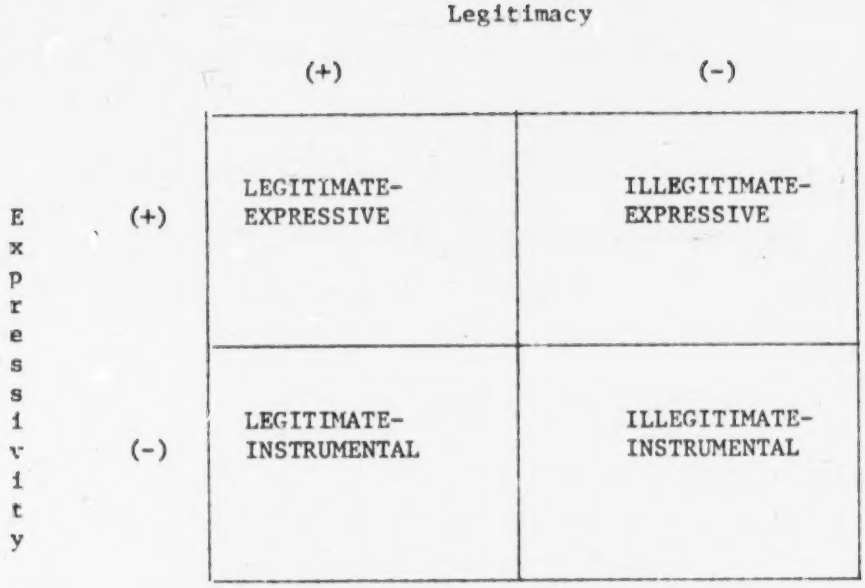

FIGURE 1. Four Types of Violence.

choose the use of physical force as a frequent modality for exercising social control. Despite these problems, we feel that most violent acts can be classified as primarily instrumental or primarily expressive with reasonable reliability and that such a classification will be a useful analytical tool, even though, like all other analytical tools, it does not encompass the full reality of the phenomenon under consideration.

A Four Cell Taxonomy. By dichotomizing these two dimensions and combining them in a two dimensional property space[1], four types of violence are distinguished which may have wide theoretical and practical utility. These are shown in Figure 1.[2/]

Figure 1 about here

Legitimate-Expressive Violence. Examples of this type of violence in the family include the widespread beliefs that it is better to spank a child than to "hold in" ones anger and better to let siblings "fight it out" than to interfer (provided things don't get out of hand). This is the typical advise to parents:

> It seems to me we have to assume that, being human, almost every parent who ever lived hit his kid sometime or other. Being human, we get mad and lose our patience, and the swift swat is the result. Let's accept that as a basic premise of our discussion. (LeShan, 1970: 34)

At a more theoretical level, the idea of "catharsis" is an example of Legitimate-Expressive violence. This is the belief that the expression of "normal" aggression between family members should not be bottled up. The idea that allowing so-called normal aggression to be expressed to serve as a tension-releasing mechanism and thus reduce the likelihood of severe violence is widespread in both popular thinking and among certain social scientists. Bettleheim (1967), for example, holds that there is excessive training in self-control typical of American middle class families. This denies the

child outlets for the instinct of human violence and thereby fails to teach children how to deal with violent feelings. We have elsewhere presented a detailed critique of the validity of these ideas, labeling them as "the catharsis myth" (Steinmetz and Straus, 1973,1974).But irrespective of the presumed cathartic consequences, it is clear that this is a widespread type of violence in the American family. We have no precise figures on this (or indeed any other) aspect of family violence. However, it is possible that almost all brothers and sisters have carried out acts of expressive violence which would be regarded as legitimate in the sense of being provoked--"he deserved it." Just how many parents hit their child after reaching "the breaking point" (as apposed to hitting as punishment or as deterant" we cannot even guess, and the same applies to blows between husbands and wives.

Illegitimate-Expressive. This is the most widely recognized type of violence in the family because it includes the most spectacular and extreme forms of violence: child abuse and murder. But the rates for child abuse and murder do not really tell us much about the frequency of illegitimate-expressive violence because there is an enormous frequency of such acts which do not reach the point of bringing a child to the attention of the authorities or producing a corpse. Included in this category are acts of angry violence between siblings which are "undeserved" or which cause "excessive" pain or injury, "excessive" physical punishment (but not so excessive as to require medical attention and hence be categorized as "child abuse" under current social norms), and the innumerable fights between husband and wife which cannot be justified under the ruberics of catharsis or as something which he or she "had coming". A typical example of such violence between husband and wife is illustrated by the following exerpt from one of the families interviewed by Gelles (1973b):

Mrs. (10): He just got violently mad at me...It was during a big snow storm...he didn't want to get up and shovel the car out. He said my son and I could do it. And my son can't even shovel...so I came in and asked if him if he wouldn't please help. Well, he was too busy reading his papers and didn't want to be bothered and he was tired. And i guess I pushed him to the point where I bitched at him for not helping me...he was driven to the point where he go up, threw his papers down, and came at me. He called me very bad names and sent me from here to there with an open hand. And my right eye hemorrhaged completely.

Legitimate-Instrumental. Although we previously indicated that Illegitimate-Expressive violence is the most widely recognized type of violence between family members, this does not mean that it is the most widely occuring type. In fact, we suggest that the most frequent type is instrumental violence which is permitted or required by the norms of the society, i.e., Legitimate-Instrumental violence. Such use of physical force as a means of inducing some desired act or as a means of preventing an undesired behavior occurs in all of the role-relationships of the nuclear family with greater or lesser frequency. The greatest frequency is in the parent-child relationship in the form of physical punishment.

The survey conducted for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, for example, found that 93% of those interviewed reported having experienced physical punishment (Stark and McEvoy, 1970). Other studies report similar figures (for example, Blumberg, 1964) and two studies reveal that even among adolescents in their last year of high school, half had been hit or threatened with being hit by their parents (Straus, 1971; Steinmetz, 1974). In every state of the union, it is legal for parents to strike children, that is, to use physical punishment. Indeed, most Americans see a moral obligation for parents to use physical punishment as a means of controlling children if other means fail (Stark and McEvoy, 1970) and a goodly

proportion see it as the most desirable means of controlling children. "Spare the rod and spoil the child" is not a dead way of life in contemporary America even though it is no longer the dominant ideology.

Of course, it can be objected that physical punishment is not really the same as other violence. We agree that it is not the same. But it is violence none the less. In certain respects, it has the same consequences as other forms of violence, despite the good intentions. For example, the research on parents' use of physical punishment reviewed in Steinmetz and Straus (1974, Part V), shows that parents who use physical punishment to control the aggressiveness of their children are probably <u>increasing</u> rather than decreasing the aggressive tendencies of their child. Violence begets violence, however peaceful and altruistic the motivation.

Legitimate-Instrumental violence is by no means confined to physical punishment by parents. Parents frequently delegate the such authority to older children in relation to their siblings and children are quick to follow the role model of their parents even when parents do not do so. Although the <u>legal</u> right of a husband to physically punish a wife (Calvert, 1974) no longer exists, the informal norms of certain social groups (and specific families in all segments of society) still legitimizes the use of physical force to control an errant spouse. For example, Parnas (1967) reports that the police come to know the customs of different groups in their areas and respond to complaints of "family disturbances" according to these presumed norms. He illustrates this with the case of a Puerto Rican woman who, when asked by the judge "should I give him 30 days [for beating her] replied "No, he is my husband, he is supposed to beat me." For Black slum families, with their matricentric pattern of organization, Parnas reports that the police in some instances have come to accept (and therefore treat lightly or ignore) women "cutting" their husbands or lovers.

While it may be true that norms legitimizing husband-wife violence are to be found in certain ethnic, racial, or social class groupings of American society, such norms seem to occur also within individual families throughout the society. Gelles (1973b) found repeated evidence of this in a study of eighty families in two cities of New Hampshire. Consider, for example the following example:

> Mr. (53): I have slapped her in the face or arms to shut her up...it's usually when the kids get hurt. She just goes completely spastic...She just goes wild so you have to hit her or something to calm her down so she'll come to her senses...It's not because I'm trying to hurt her because of something she's done. I'm trying to knock her to her senses more or less...I had to slap her in the face and hit her arm to calm her down.

We do not know the specific frequency of Legitimate-Instrumental violence of the type illustrated by this case since Gelles study was designed to explore the internal family process which produce violence rather than to obtain statistically estimates of frequency. Clearly, such figures are an elementary but important part of our knowledge of violence in the family which needs to be supplied by future research.

Illegitimate-Instrumental. The line between legitimate and illegitimate instrumental violence is indefinite because, as noted earlier, this is really a continum which we have dichotomized for convenience of exposition. Just as normatively approved "cathartic" slapping by a parent can reach the point of injury and thus be classified as child abuse, so can normatively approved physical punishment easily be carried to the point where, despite the benevolent intentions of the parent in punishing the child "for his own good,"

society will regard it as abusive rather than educative. Similarly, a wife who accepts a certain level of violence from her husband in response to her transgressions will reach the point of defining it as illegitimate if it exceeds a certain level of severity or if it occurs too often with little provocation.

Which Norms? The preceeding paragraph seems to assume that family members or society accepts a certain level of instrumental use of force as legitimate and that it is only when this level is exceeded that the violence falls into the Illegitimate-Instrumental category. But this is not our intention. On the contrary, for a small proportion of families, any use of force, including any physical punishment, is abhorent. For a much larger proportion of families, only physical punishment of children is legitimate, and then only during early childhood. In relation to husband-wife violence, we suggest that for all but a relatively small proportion of families, any use of physical violence is illegitimate. Thus, most of the husband-wife violence (which occurs in perhaps from half to two thirds of all families) is automatically illegitimate.

Yet the situation is far from clear. There may be a dual set of norms. The first consisting of the overtly recognized and accepted norms prohibiting husband-wife violence and the second consisting of the unverbalized but operating norms of everyday life. The actor may, in fact, deny that he could control the course of his behavior. But this does not alter the fact that such decisions follow lawful patterns in relation to cultural norms and the goals of the system. As Garfinkel (1967) and others have shown, some of the most important decision rules for social interaction are so internalized that the actors automatically invoke them in appropriate situations. In relation to violence between family members this can be illustrated by an example from

a marriage counseling case (told by Carlfred Broderick). One of the problems was that the husband frequently hit the wife. The husband agreed that this was wrong but said that it occured in siturations where he lost control and could not stop. The marriage counselor then asked: "Why don't you stab her?" This possibility (and the fact that the husband did not stab the wife, despite "loosing control") clearly shows that his hitting the wife was not simply a reversion to primitive levels of behavior but, in fact, was under normative control. The implicit, unrecognized, but none the less operating, norms for this husband enabled him to hit his wife, but not to stab her.

The dual norms just described, however, are only one of the complications and ambiguities inherent in the legitimacy dimension of this taxonomy. Leaving aside inconsistent norms within the individual, there is also the question of inconsistent or conflicting norms between individuals and groups. There are a variety of perspectives which can be utilized:

1. The "Offender". One way of determining whether hitting a family member is expressive or instrumental; legitimate or illegitimate, is to rely on the account or definition of situation of the individual who used force. This perspective would depend largely on how the hitter "accounted for" (Lyman and Scott, 1970; Komarovsky, 1940) the act of hitting. Often husbands who hit their wives will say that they simply lost control of themselves or could not control their tempers. In these cases the violence would be classified as expressive. If the attacker says he hit the victim to "bring him to his senses," or "to teach her a lesson," or "they needed to be hit," then the violence would be considered instrumental. Similarly, if the offender describes the incident(s) in such a way as to display feelings of committing a deviant act, then the hitting or attack would be classified as illegitimate. If

the actor feels the hitting of a family member was justified, then it would be a legitimate mode of violence from his perspective.

2. The "Victim". It is all well and good that the offender may feel that hitting the victim was justified or that the violence was used to teach a lesson, but what of the victim's feelings about being hit? The incidents of violence may also be classified on the basis of his definition of situation. If the victim's response to the violence was "thanks, I needed that," then from his perspective the violence was legitimate. On the other hand, the victim may feel that being slapped across the face was completely unwarrented.

3. Joint Perspective. A third approach would be a conjoint definition of situation. Here the perspective of both actors (offender and victim) is taken into account in determining what type of violence took place. Faulkner (1971) bases his discussion of violence in professional hockey on interviews with a number of players who are sometimes offender, sometimes victims of attacks. His discussion seems to indicate that, while violence in hockey is often expressive, it is occupationally necessary and legitimate form of expression. This conclusion is not solely drawn from talking with aggressive hockey players, but by also interviewing hockey players who are, more often than not, on the receiving end of violence.

Another joint perspective may take into consideration the entire families view of the violence. Here the collective familial definition of situation is used to type incidents of violence. A critical aspect of this perspective would be the families collective and shared meanings (Hess and Handel, 1959) concerning types and usage of violence.

4. Agents of Control. A fourth alternative is to use the perspective of agents of control in classifying violence. Here the classification is based on agents of control such as police, courts, or other public officials view of what constitutes expressive or instrumental; legitimate or illegitimate violence.

In terms of child abuse, the decision as to whether a child is actually abused (illegitimate violence) is largely based on a doctors referral of the case to the courts or police. Thus, even though the parents may deny that any abuse or illegitimate violence took place--which is often the case in incidents of child abuse (Kempe, 1962)--the incident may be viewed as illegitimate by an agent of control. Similarly, a policeman's discretion separates routine family brawls from criminal assault in that he can decide to either arrest an assailant, or allow him to remain at home.

5. The Investigator. The final perspective which may be utilized is that of the investigator or researcher. He can decide on the basis of his analysis of the interview protocols whether an attack was instrumental or expressive in intent. This is the procedure used in Bales "Interaction Process Analysis" (1950) used to code behavior in small group laboratory experiments, where the researcher, rather than the actor codes behavior into the different categories (except that the actual behavior is not observed in research on family violence).

The investigator's ability to use a variety of criteria by which to code violence further enlarges the number of possible ways in which violence may be typed. For instance, the investigator may use legal criteria of assault in coding for legitimacy and illegitimacy of violence, or he may use his own personal standards of appropriate forms of intrafamilial behavior.

It is obvious that the typing of violence will, for the most part, depend on which of the five different perspectives are used. Furthermore, it should not be surprising that each perspective is quite likely to be different from the others--what the offender sees as legitimate the victim may not; what the researcher finds appalling, the family may find normal and stable. In supplying illustrative examples for each of the four types in our

taxonomy, we used our judgements of what constituted the prevailing standards of the society, but also provided illustrations of how the categorization would be different using the perspective of a given subculture or of a given family. Whose definition of legitimacy to use in any specific investigation or analysis depends on the purposes of the analysis. Thus, a crucial decision which must be made at the outset in any study of family violence is which perspective or combination of perspectives to utilize in categorizing legitimacy.

FREQUENCY OF FAMILY VIOLENCE

At various points in this paper we have given figures on the frequency of certain aspects of violence between family members. For example, we noted that various studies indicate that from 84 to 97 percent of all parents use physical punishment at some point in the child's life (Steinmetz and Straus, 1974). Moreover, such use of physical force to maintain parental authority is not confined to early childhood. Steinmetz and Straus have data on students in three different regions of the U.S. In these studies half of the parents either used physical punishment or threatened to hit during their senior year in high school (Steinmetz, 1971; Straus, 1971; Steinmetz, 1974). We believe that the violence of parents begets violence, however peaceful and altruistic the motivation. Consequently it is not altogether rare for the violent tendencies thus built into the personality of the child to be turned against the parents, as in the case of Lizzie Borden who, in 1892, as the famous rhyme goes:

> ...took an ax
> And gave her father 40 wacks.
> When the job was neatly done
> She gave her mother 41.

Of course, most intra-family violence is less bloody than what is attributed to Lizzie Borden. But a great deal is this bloody. In fact, when one examines the nature of the relationship between a murderer and his or her victim, the largest single category of victim is that of family member or relative (Palmer, 1972).

The magnitude of family violence struck home during a summer heat wave. On page 1 of the New York Times for July 22, 1972 was an article describing the increase in murders that has occured during the previous few days of extreme heat in New York City and summarizing the statistics for murder in New York during the previous six months. On page 2 was an article summarizing the deaths in Northern Ireland in the previous three and one half years of disturbances. The striking thing about this juxtoposition of materials is that it showed that about as many people were murdered by their relatives in one six month period in New York City as had been killed in all of the disturbances in Northern Ireland in 3 1/2 years.[3/]

Still, these are relatively rare events. As noted in the introduction, even though the U.S. is a country with a high rate of homicide, the rate is still only 4 or 5 per 100,000 of population. So let us turn to non-lethal physical violence between husband and wife. How often does this occur? It is very hard to dig up accurate statistics. But we can start with the phenomenon as seen by the police, or more accurately as feared by the police. Just as relatives are the largest single category of murder victim, so family fights are the largest single category of police calls. One legal researcher (Parnas, 1967: 914), estimates that more police calls involve family conflict than do calls for all criminal incidents, including murders, rapes, non-family assaults, robberies and muggings. Moreover, the police hate and fear

these kinds of calls. First, a family disturbance call lacks the glamour and prestige and public appreciation of a robbery or an accident call. Second, and more important, they are extremely dangerous calls. Many a policeman coming to the aide of a wife being beaten has had a chair or a bottle thrown at him or has been stabed or shot by the wife who suddenly becomes fearful of what is going to happen to her husband, or just plain turns her rage on to the police. Twenty-two percent of all police fatalities come from investigating problems between man and wife or parent and child (Parnas, 1967).

Of course, one cannot tell from these data on police calls just what proportion of all husbands and wives have had physical fights since it takes an unusual combination of events to have the police called in. The closest published estimate is to be found in the studies Levinger (1966) and O'Brien (1971). Both these researchers studied applicants for divorce. O'Brien found that 17 percent of his cases spontaneously mentioned overt violent behavior, and Levinger found that 23 percent of the middle class couples and 40 percent of the working class couples gave "physical abuse" as a major complaint.

Both these figures probably underestimate the amount of physical violence between husbands and wives because there were probably violent incidents which were not mentioned or which were not listed as a main cause of the divorce. Perhaps these figures should be at least doubled. Even then we are far from knowing the extent of husband-wife violence. First, there is a discrepancy between the O'Brien and the Levinger figures. Second, these figures apply to couples who have applied for divorce. It may be that physical violence is less among a cross-section of couples; or it may be, as we suspect, that the difference is not very great.

The closest thing to data on a cross-section of the population is to be found in a survey conducted for the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence which deals with what violence people would approve (Stark and McEvoy, 1970). These data show that one out of four men in this survey and one out of six women would approve of slapping a wife under certain conditions. As for a wife slapping a husband, 26 percent of the men and 19 percent of the women would approve. Of course, some people who approve of slapping will never do it and some who disapprove will slap--or worse. Probably the latter group is larger. If so, we know that husband-wife violence at this minimal level occurs in at least one quarter of American families.

Our own pilot studies also give some indication of the high frequency of violence in the family. There are two different pilot studies. First, Gelles (1973b) finds that about 54 per cent of the couples have used physical force on each other at some time.

The second of our exploratory studies is being done by questionnaires given to freshmen students at the University of New Hampshire. These students responded to a series of questions about conflicts which occured in their families during their senior year in high school, and to further questions about how these conflicts were dealt with. Included in the conflict resolution section were questions on whether or not the parties to the disputes had ever hit, pushed, shoved, or threw things at each other in the course of one of the disputes.

The results show that during that one year 62 percent of these high school seniors had used physical force on a brother or sister and 16 percent of their parents had used physical force on each other. Remember that these are figures for a single year. The percentage who had ever used violence is

probably much greater. How much greater is difficult to estimate because we cannot simply accumulate the 16 percent for one year over the total number of years married because some couples will never have used violence and others will have used it repeatedly. Nevertheless, it seems safe to assume that it will not always be the same 16 percent. So, it is probably best to fall back on the 54 per cent estimate from the 80 depth interviews.

Although the figures just presented should make clear why we opened this paper with the assertion that violence between family members is, if not universal, by far the most common type of violence a typical person is likely to experience. In fact, it is likely that many Americans will go through life without ever having experienced physical violence at the hands of anyone except their parents or siblings during childhood and adolescence or their spouse during adulthood. Moreover, the predominant position of the family as a setting for violence seems to apply to every method of inflicting physical pain or injury, ranging from spankings and slaps to torture and murder. It seems as though those seriously concerned with the level of violence in this country should focus as much of their interest on "violence in the home" as on "crime in the streets."

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY

A phenomenon as pervasive as the forgoing section suggests, especially in the face of at least some social norms prohibiting it, cries out for explanation. What accounts for the fact that institution of society most centrally concerned with human love, intimacy, warmth, and solidarity, is also the institution with the highest level of violence? There are a number of theories which have been put forth to explain violence as a mode of interaction between individuals in general. These theories, together, with the few theories which attempt to explain the specific case of violence between family

members are reviewed in this section. This inventory of theories which are applicable to intra-family violence takes a rather loose definition of a theory--a theory of violence is defined as a means of explaining what is the cause of violent acts between individuals.

There appear to be three distinct levels of theories of violence, intra-individual, social-psychological, and socio-cultural.

Intra-individual theories explain violence in terms of some internal quality of the individual actor. Both biologically based qualities such as genes or chromosomes, or acquired characteristics such as agressive personality or personality defects or abberations, are the foci of intra-individual level explanations.

Social-psychological theories examine the interaction of the individual with other individuals, groups, or society in explaining acts of violence. Here violence is explained in terms of certain frustrations, learning processes, or as a result of self-attitudes.

Socio-cultural theories of violence examine social arrangements such as norms, values, institutional organization, or systems operations to explain individual violence.

Intra-Individual Theories of Violence

The common feature of intra-individual theories of interpersonal violence is that the cause of violent acts is found in some intra-individual quality, state, abberation, or malady. These theories focus on particular factors or combinations of factors within individuals which cause them to become violent. There seem to be seven types of intra-individual theories. These are the explanations based on one or more of the following causal factors: (1) Biological-Instinctual, (2) Genetic, (3) Genetic-Evolutionary, (4) Psychopathology, (5) Bio-Chemical Pathology, (6) Aggressive-Personality, (7) Alcohol and Drugs.

A major difficulty with all intra-individual theories as explanations of family violence is that they do not explain why the object of the violent act is a family member. Even if we assume the correctness of the claim that aggression and violence are basic human instincts, such a theory does not explain why any such instinct leads to the object of violence being a family member rather than anyone else. Consequently, although intra-individual factors do have some importance for a comprehensive consideration of violence in the family, in the interests of bravity we will omit all but two of these theories from this paper.[4/] These two were selected for inclusion because both have been widely used as explanations for intra-family violence. They are the psychopathology theory of violence and the alcohol theory. The former is the most widely used explanation of child abuse and the latter represents a widely held view concerning the causes of husband-wife violence.

Psychopathology. The psychopathology theory of violence offers a theoretical approach which, instead of explaining violence as a function of some inbred genetic of instinctual characteristic of man, postulates that violence is caused by an abnormality which occurs within some individuals. According to the psychopathological approach individuals are violent because of some internal abberation, abnormality, or defective characteristic. These characteristics include inadequate self-control, sadism, mental illness, and "psychopathic personality" types.

Psychopathology theories of violence have often been used to explain the more outstanding types of violence which receive public exposure, either through media coverage or through public labeling of these forms of violence as social problems. This is the dominant theory used to explain child abuse. It has also been utilized as an explanation of murder and other extreme forms of physical violence.

A number of reports on child abuse open with the assumption that anyone who would inflict serious abuse or death on a child is, in some manner, a psychopath. This assertion ranges from the point blank statement that a child abuser is mentally ill (Coles, 1964: 12) to comparing abusers' behavior to other "sick" deviants such as sexual psychopaths. In some cases the sickness is traced to a flaw in the socialization process where "something went haywire or was not touched in the humanization process" (Wasserman, 1967: 176). In many cases discussions begin with the assumption that the abuser is a psychopath. Steele and Pollack announce that their first parent abuser case was a "goldmine of psychopathology" (1968: 103). Kempe describes the abuser as the "psychopathological member of the family" (1962: 22). Similarly, many discussions of murder relate certain types of murder to psychopathic disorders (Guttmacher, 1960).

There are a number of serious problems with the psychopathological approach to violence. Much of the literature on psychopathy and violence is based on weak case study evidence or is circular and inconsistent (Gelles, 1973a: 1). Close examination of the literature reveals that the diagnosis are done after-the-act and the conclusions are not based on research that meets even the minimal standards of evidence in the social sciences (Spinetta and Rigler, 1972). Psychopathology theory is inconsistent in that it states that violence is caused by psychopathy but at the same time, many of the research reports state that not all violent individuals are psychopaths. Another difficulty in the theory is its inability to pinpoint the specific personality or character traits which make up the pathology. Instead, a vast array of traits are named by one author or another as constituting the psychopathy (Gelles, 1973a: 7).

Alcohol and Drugs. This is not so much a theory as it is a "conventional wisdom" (MacAndrew and Edgerton, 1969) concerning how alcohol acts as a

disinhibiter which releases the violent tendencies that exist in man. The theory rests on the assumption that alcohol (and drugs) act to break down inhibitions or cause people to loose their inhibitions and become violent. Thus, alcohol is viewed as the agent which releases man's inherent or acquired potential to be violent. Gillen comments on how, in cases of murder, alcohol apparently releases impulses which were normally held in restraint (1946: 59). Guttmacher repeats this notion when he notes that the effect of alcohol is essentially a release phenomenon, a sort of superego solvent which unleashes suppressed or repressed aggression (1960: 33).

Drugs also are hypothetical releasers of violent tendencies. Guttmacher devotes an entire chapter to drug related murder (1960). In the discussion of the public reaction to drug use, Howard Becker (1963: 143) cites a case used to promote anti-drug legislation. In this case a supposed marijuana "addict" was said to have murdered his entire family while crazed by marijuana!

There is little rigorous scientific support for alcohol and drugs as causes of violence. MacAndrew and Edgerton (1969) devote an impressive nonograph to undermining the conventional wisdom about alcohol. They cite extensive cross-cultural evidence to point out the great variability in the comportment of individuals with alcohol in their bodies. Although the data evidences a convincing number of individuals who were violent while drinking (Gillen, 1946; Guttmacher, 1960; Wolfgang, 1958), it is just as plausable to assume the opposite causal sequence: that individuals who wish to commit a violent act become intoxicated in order to carry out the violent act. Such a sequence is plausible because of the cultural definitions and rules in our society which equate drunkeness with aggression and which treat aggressive acts committed when intoxicated as at least partly excusable. In addition, there is little in the way of valid evidence that alcohol actually does reduce inhibitions.

Social Psychological Theories of Violence

Social-psychological theories of violence examine the individual's relationship with his social environment and locates the sources of violence in this relationship. Perhaps the two best known theories of aggression, Frustration-Aggression and Learning theory, explain violence using this social-psychological level of analysis. In addition to these two theories, there are two other social-psychological approaches which will be evaluated in this section, Self-Attitude theory, and what is labeled here as "A Clockwork Orange" theory of violence.

Frustration-Aggression. The classic presentation of Frustration-Aggression theory appeared in Dollard, Doob, Miller, Mower, and Sears' (1939) book. The theory was later modified by Miller (1941) and has been reviewed by Berkowitz (1962) in his examination of the social-psychological approach to aggression. The basic premise of the theory is that aggressive behavior results when some purposeful activity is interrupted. Organisms (including humans) tend to aggress against objects which block important goals (which are part of the purposeful activity). The theory acknowledges that cultural forces can accentuate or inhibit aggression as a response to interruption of purposeful activity, but the capacity to respond aggressively is built into the human organism. The proponants of the theory argue that frustration can also accumulate and lead to generalized aggressive behavior.

The credibility of this theory seems to stem from it being illustrated in everyday life. Dollard et al. cite the case of the child who is prevented from getting ice cream by his mother after he hears the ice cream vendors bell ringing and has begun to go out for the ice cream and who then becomes physically aggressive (1939). Numerous other real-life examples of aggressive behavior which follow from frustration lend to support the theory.

While Frustration-Aggression theory is indeed credible and can be supported with numerous experimental and real-life examples, there are some serious problems with the theory. First, the theory does not explain under what circumstances frustration leads to aggression, that is, why aggression follows some frustrations and not others (Etzioni, 1971: 717). There are also some societies (such as the Balinese) in which the typical response to frustration is passive-withdrawal (Mead, 1951:176). In addition the theory does not differentiate violent aggression from non-violent aggression--verbal abuse rather than physical assault (Etzioni, 1971: 717). Finally, aggression is not always preceeded by frustration. As will be pointed out in the "Clockwork Orange" theory of violence, aggression often follows from boredom rather than frustrat on of action.

Learning Theory. Social learning theory of violence is the first theory reviewed which does not assume any biological preprogramming or predisposition to be violent. Learning theory proposes a Tabular Rosa, or clean slate conception of the individual and accounts for violent behavior as a learned phenomenon. Violence is viewed here as a product of a successful learning situation which provides the individual with a knowledge about the response (Violence) and what the stimuli for the response are (i.e. when violence is an appropriate response).

There are a number of variations of what is labeled "Learning Theory of Violence." One form poses that violent behavior can be learned through viewing and then imitating the violent acts of others. The classic experiment on aggressive behavior learned by imitation was the Bandura, Ross, and Ross (1961) study of children who observed filmed or televised examples of violence. Children who viewed an adult striking a Bobo doll, later imitated this and displayed significantly more violent behavior towards the doll than did

children who did not view the film or televised violence. This and other similar studies have been used extensively to support the hypothesis that children who are exposed to violence on television are prone to become violent in their own behavior.

A second variation of the learning theory of violence extends the imitation approach by adding to it the proposition that not only are violent acts learned by viewing, but individuals also learn violence approval (Owens and Straus, 1973). In other words, norms and values concerning the legitimate use of violence are transmitted in learning situations. Thus, violence can be viewed as a function of successful socialization where both the behavior and the approval of the behavior are learned.

A "Role model" approach to violence proposes that violence is learned through childhood experience with violence and the viewing of a parent as a role model of violence (Gelles, 1973a; Singer, 1971). The "Role model" approach argues that interpersonal violence reflects the shared meanings and role expectations of the person and others with whom he interacts. What is learned through interaction with significant others is more than just the techniques for a "script" of behavior which proceeds the norms, values, correct situational context, and model of violent behavior for the individual.

Self-Attitude Theory. A theory of violent behavior which incorporates aspects of learning theory is presented by Kaplan (1972) in his formulation of psycho-social theory which focuses on self-attitudes and self-esteem. Kaplan discusses how a major motivational goal of individuals is to maintain positive self-esteen and avoid negative self-esteem. He proposes that negative self-attitudes arise out of particular psycho-social experiences. The major proposition of the theory is that individuals who develop negative self-attitudes will be more likely to adopt deviant patterns of behavior than

individuals with positive self-attitudes (Kaplan, 1972: 596). Kaplan views deviance as a means of achieving a positive self-attitude. The proposition which explains why an aggressive pattern is adopted draws from learning theory and cultural theories of violence. Kaplan states that individuals who are raised in a cultural or subcultural setting in which outward expression of aggression is permitted or encouraged are more likely to manifest aggressive responses to stressful circumstances than individuals raised in settings in which the outward expression of aggression is prohibited or discouraged (1972: 603). In addition, individuals are more likely to display aggressive behavior if they occupy social positions which endorce aggressive responses, such as males, or young males (Kaplan, 1972: 608).

Thus, Kaplan has provided a theory of aggressive behavior which integrates a variety of social-psychological factors--self-esteem, learning experiences, social positions, cultural norms and values, into a theory of interpersonal violence.

"Clockwork Orange" Theory. The "Clockwork Orange" theory of violence is derived from the book of the same name (Burgess, 1962). Although a major point of the book was the use of behavior modification to "cure" violence, the title for this theory of violence is drawn from the episodes in the book where Alex and the Drooges commit violent acts when there is nothing to do. Thus, the "Clockword Orange" theory of violence serves as a broad label for the variety of explanations of violent acts which locate the cause of violence in boredom, the urge to seek thrills, or excessive reciprocity (Palmer, 1972). A number of authors suggest that violence arises out of boredom or "thrill seeking". Cohen (1955) sees this in examining delinquents, while Klausner's edited work on Why Men Take Chances (1968) looks at violence as a mode of stress-seeking. Palmer's discussion of the causes of homicide (1972) provides these notions with a theoretical framework. Palmer proposes a tension model to

explain homicide and the individual. He suggests that homicide can be a result of both high tension (lack of reciprocity) or low tension (excessive reciprocity). It is the low tension state that illustrates the "Clockwork Orange" approach to violence. Here the "glove fits too smoothly". Excessive reciprocity or low tension leads to frustration because there is assumed to be a minimum of optimum stress level. When the level is not met the individual commits a violent act as a means of "stiring things up" or raising the tension level to reduce frustration (Palmer, 1972: 51).

Socio-cultural Theories of Violence

Socio-cultural theories of violence explain the causes or sources of violent acts by focusing on macro-social variables such as social structures, functions, subcultures, or social systems. Individual violence is seen as arising from arrangements of social factors such as norms, values, institutional organizations or systems operations. There are six theories of violence which will be reviewed at this level of analysis: (1) Functional, (2) Structural, (3) Culture of Violence, (4) General Systems Theory, (5) Conflict Theory, (6) Resource Theory.

Functional Theory of Violence. The fact that violent acts often cause injury or even death to the recipient of the violence does not appear to lend violence to a functional explanation. Nevertheless, as Coser (1967: 74) argues, violent acts may fulfill certain social functions, if not in the short run, at least over time. Thus, while one immediate consequence of violence is injury or harm to the victim, there may also be positive functions (both latent and manifest) for the actor, or the group, or society.

Coser (1967) illustrates three possible social functions of violence. He proposes that violence may function for the individual as an area of achievement,

for the community as a danger signal, and for the nonparticipants or observers of violence as a catalyst.

In terms of the individual, violence can serve as an alternative avenue to success when legitimate means to achievement are blocked (Coser, 1967: 78). This proposition is quite similar to Kaplan's (1972) proposal that aggressive behavior may be seen as a means of achieving a positive self-attitude by an individual who has negative self-attitudes. Coser explains that violence may be a means of achieving social status. He cites as an example the case of family violence in the lower-class American family where violence is used in the small system of the family to compensate for inadequate rewards in the occupational world at large (1967: 80). Machismo, or the ideology of the sexually aggressive male in the Latin American family and violence among Negroes may also be seen as a means of achieving social status when legitimate avenues to achievement are blocked (Brown, 1965: 263-271). In addition, Coser explains how revolutionary violence is a means of achieving a desired end (1967: 80).

A second function of violence is one that serves the community--violence as a danger signal. Given that individuals will resort to violence under extremely frustrating or ego-damaging conditions (Coser, 1967: 83), a sudden rise in the level of violence may serve as an indicator or underlying severe maladjustment in the community. Revolutionary violence or violence associated with the civil rights movement was an indicator of severe underlying social discontents, and maladjustments.

Thirdly, violence may be a catalyst, Coser holds that individuals who observe or become aware of the extra-legal or contra-normative use of violence may react against this and fight for changes or reform in the systems which foster excessive violent acts (1967: 87). Violence as a catalyst serves to create a solidarity among the nonparticipants against those commiting the violent acts.

A second author's position on the functions of violence is a great deal more controversial than is Coser's. David Bakan's (1971) discussion of child abuse and infanticide proposes that the sweeping extent of acts of child abuse and child murder in present society, across societies, and throughout history argues for the fact that violence towards children is perpetuated because it is a successful means of population control. Bakan is proposing that acts of violence towards children endure because they serve the need of society to regulate its population. This position is supported somewhat in the data on child abuse that reveals that abused or murdered children are often the product of an unwanted pregnancy (Gelles, 1973a:14).

A final function of violence is the view of violence as a means of releasing pent-up frustrations. This proposition considers the release or normal aggression a means of reducing the liklihood of severe violence (Bandura and Walters, 1963). While this functional view of "normal violence" enjoys some support, Steinmetz and Straus (1973) argue that the scientific evidence on the catharsis theory render it mythology rather than a theory.

In summary of the Functional theory of violence, violence is viewed as existing and enduring because it serves and meets certain individual, group, and societal needs. Violence is viewed as an inherent part of all human interaction and serves to rectify or point out injustices which cannot otherwise be corrected. In addition, violence is one mechanism which enables the social unit to be flexible and adaptive enough to survive.

Structural Theory of Violence. The Structural theory of violence begins with the assumption drawn from Durkheim (1951) and Merton (1938) that deviance is unevenly distributed in social structures. Violence, considered a form of deviancy, is also unevenly distributed in society (Coser, 1967: 55-57). Using homicide as an example Coser points out that social position or social class is associated with homicide. Palmer (1962: 34) found that 53% of the fathers

of murderers in his sample were from the lowest rung of the 5-class scale. The next proposition of the structural theory of violence is that the causes of violence are unequally distributed; thus, leading to the unequal distribution of violence. Palmer, for instance, finds that frustrations in early life are associated with the life histories of murderers (1962: 8). Coser extends this finding by stating that lower social position and accompanying frustrations produced by lower social status lead to higher homicide rates (1967: 59).

The final proposition of the Structural theory of violence explains why those people who are in lower social positions and who suffer frustrations react violently. Coser proposes that this is a function of differential socialization which leads to different modes of dealing with stress and frustration (1967: 62). While middle class parents discipline using more "psychological" techniques, lower and working class parents resort more to physical punishment (Steinmetz and Straus, 1974). As seen in "social learning theories of violence," this differential experience with, and exposure to, role models of aggression is likely to influence future behavior as a child and adult.

Etzioni (1971) also proposes a structural explanation for violence. He outlines an "Integrated Theory of Violence" by using the paradign of goals and means as outlined by Merton (1938). The propositions extend the assumption that means for achieving cultural goals are differentially distributed in a society. When the goals are blocked by not having means to reach them this leads to stress and frustration. In addition, when the culture (or subculture) has provided a learning experience which legitimizes the use of violence to attain goals, then violence becomes an adaptation to the frustrations caused by the lack of legitimate means available for achieving the goals.

In summary then the Structural theory of violence explains violence as a result of differential distribution of the causes of violence and differential

learning experiences which provide models, norms, and values which legitimize the use of violence.

Culture of Violence Theory. Culture of Violence theory is quite similar to structural theory of violence in that it finds that rates of violence (as indicated by homicide rates) vary across a social structure. Culture of violence differs from structural theory in that it locates the source of violence as arising from differential cultural norms and values concerning violence as opposed to violence being a function of differential distribution of stress and frustration. Thus, the cultural explanation of violence views violence as a product of a particular subculture's commitment to pro-violent norms.

The major proponants of the Cultural Theory of violence, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967), present a propositional model which articulates the theory that violence arises out of a subculture's norms and values concerning violence. Their hypothesis is that overt expression of violence is part of a subcultural normative system. Violence is a learned response (acquired through cultural transmission) to stimuli. The response is learned from a cultural group and it is a normative reflection of the subculture's value system. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) go on to explain that personality traits found in violent men result from association and learning from a subculture. Thus, the personality traits of violent individuals are acquired and not "programmed" into them by hereditary or some internal malfunction.

Cultural theory of violence is largely a variation of social learning theories of violence. However, Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) do not dwell on the mechanisms by which approval of violence is taught, they simply assume that it is taught and label this "cultural transmission". The major effort of their discussion of subcultures of violence goes towards analyzing the dynamics of the subculture. Their propositions outline how subcultures vary

within a society, how different situational demands influence the expression of violence in a subculture, how the extent of violence indicates the assimilation of values of violence in a subculture, and how violence can become part of a subcultural life style, a means of acceptable problem solving. Beyond this discussion of subcultural violence there is little in the way of discussing the actual genesis of a subculture of violence.

General Systems Theory. The general systems theory of violence offered by Straus (1973a) is the first of theories of interpersonal violence discussed in this section which deals exclusively with violence between family members. Straus applies what Buckley (1967) calls "modern systems theory" to the analysis of the family as an adaptive system. In examining the family as a system, the theory views violence as a system product rather than a product of an individual behavioral pathology. The theory specifies the "positive feedback" processes which produce an upward spiral of violence and the "negative feedback" processes which serve to maintain the level of violence within tolerable limits. The theory also examines morphogenic processes which alter the role structure of the family.

The major focus of the theory is the impact of violence on the family as a social system. The theory's most important contribution to an understanding of violence between family members is its attempt to account for the presence of violence as a continuing element in the social structure of the nuclear family (Straus, 1973a: 13).

Resource Theory. A second theory which focuses on violence between family members is resource theory. The theory, articulated by Goode (1971), assumes that all social systems "rest to some degree on force or its threat, whatever else may be their foundations" (624). Violence (and threats of violence) are fundamental to the organization of social systems, including the

family. Violence tends to be used as a resource. Goode argues that the greater the other resources a person can command, the more force he can muster, but the less he will actually deploy the force in an overt manner (1971: 628). Violence is then used as a resource when other resources are insufficient or lacking. Goode expands on this by stating that a family that has little prestige, money, and power suffers greater frustration and bitterness and may resort to violence more (1971: 633). Family members resort to violence more because in such settings they typically have fewer alternative resources of any kind that will help them redress the balance of exchanges with their relatives or other family members (1971: 633). Thus, according to Goode, one should find that disadvantaged members of the lower social strata will resort to violence between family members more because of greater frustrations and fewer resources available for redressing these frustrations.

The empirical data on family violence appears to bear out the resource theory. O'Brien finds that violence is most common in families when the classically dominant member (husband) fails to possess the superior skills, talents, and resources upon which his preferred status is based (1971: 693). Thus, when the husband cannot command the resources traditionally associated with filling the role of husband-provider, one should find more violence in this family, since the husband may use force in lieu of other resources which are not at his command. We should expect to find that in families where the wife's occupational status is higher than the husband's, her education is significantly higher, and where the husband fails to possess superior skills (job, income) there is a great deal of physical violence used by the husband on the wife and children. Violence may be a resource for evening the balance of power or a means of coercing respect from family members.

Summary. Aside from the different level of analysis offered by socio-cultural theories of violence, the major factor which distinguishes theories on this level from social-psychological and intra-individual theories is the notion of "legitimacy". Socio-cultural theories of violence introduce the proposition of violent acts as possibly legitimate or normative forms of behavior as opposed to products of derranged individuals which have dysfunctional consequences for both the victims of the acts and society in general. Thus, a key contribution of the macro-level theories is that the cause of violence is not traced to some pathology or deviance, but to some patterned structure of variables which leads to violence being normal and legitimate form of behavior in certain contexts. Socio-cultural theories of violence present a broad model for violence which includes variables from all three levels of analysis.

THEORIES OF VIOLENCE AND VIOLENCE IN THE FAMILY

This section examines the applicability of the theories just reviewed to violence between family members. The focus of this discussion is to assess how well suited the various theories are to explaining violence between family members.

Intra-Individual Theories and Family Violence. By locating the source of violent behavior within the individual, intra-individual theories of violence disregard such factors as the relation of the attacker to the victim, the situation of the attack, and the social structure within which the attack takes place. In other words, the fact that the victim is related to the attacker and the attack takes place in the home and within the family system is only incidental to these causal theories analysis of violence. According to the intra-individual theories, violence could take place between two total strangers as easily as it could between husband and wife or parents and children.

The characteristics of the offender-victim relationship and the situation in which they are involved may be viewed simply as trigger mechanisms which release the pre-programmed or inner quantum of violence within an individual.

Social Psychological Theories of Violence and Family Violence. The four social-psychological theories of violence add to the causal analysis the element of social relations and interaction and enduring social relations as factors which may influence violence. Frustration-Aggression theory applied to family violence might posit that the family is the source of a great deal of frustration; therefore, we could expect to find more violence in the family setting than in other less frustrating and stressful situations. On the other hand, viewing the family as the source of peace, harmony and tranquility, would lead to the opposite conclusion which would predict less violence in family settings.

Learning theory of violence proposes an imitation and role modeling approach which would seem to argue that the family may serve as a "training ground for violence". Here the child who views his parents using violence on each other, on the children, or with other individuals is learning both the behavior and the fact that it is an acceptable form of behavior. As Singer points out (1971: 31):

> In new situations where a parent is at a loss for what to do he is likely to remember what he saw his parents do and behave accordingly, even occasionally to his own detriment. Indeed, adults when they become parents and are faced with the novelty of the role revert to the type of behavior they saw their parents engage in when they were children sometimes against current judgement.

The literature on the battered child supports this contention in the findings that abusive parents were raised in the same style they have recreated in the pattern of rearing their own children (Steele and Pollack, 1968: 111; Kempe, 1962: 18; Gil, 1971: 641; Gelles, 1973a: 16).

Self-Attitudes theory also proposes that the family serves as a training ground for violence and that experience with violence as a child in a family may contribute to the selection of violence as a mode of achieving a positive self-concept.

The fourth theory of the group, "Clockwork Orange" theory, does not in its metaphoric genesis (i.e. the book from which the name was taken and the accompanying incidents of violence) or in its theoretical formulation suggest any direct link between violence and the family. Indeed, Alex and the Drooges committed their acts of violence against strangers. Nevertheless, Palmer's (1972) tension model suggests that "excessive reciprocity" in the family member might be the source of a violent attack because it can lead to violence as a means of "Stirring things up".

Socio-Cultural Theories Applied to the Family. The socio-cultural theories of violence also are amenable to application to violence in the family. As discussed earlier, this group of theories includes two which are direct attempts to apply formal theories to the substantive phenomenon of family violence. Straus (197)using the model of adaptive systems applies it to interaction and role structuring within the family, while Goode (1971) begins with the premise that all social systems rest to some degree on the use or threat to use force and then applies this general notion to the system of the family and provides substantive propositions which account for violence between family members.

Structural theory and Cultural theory are similar in their dependence on the proposition that violence is learned. Thus, they could be applied to families by extending the proposition to families with the statement that violence between family members is learned. In terms of Cultural theory of violence the key factors are values and norms of violence. Applied to the

family context this could mean that in certain subcultures there are norms and values which legitimize the use of violence by one family member on another. This can be illustrated by examining different subcultural patterns of child discipline where one group argues for the uses "psychological" measures such as deprivation of privileges, withholding of love, etc., while another subculture argues that "sparring the rod spoils the child" and; thus, uses more physical methods of child rearing. In addition, middle class norms seem to deplore a husband striking his wife, while in certain lower class families this is a more acceptable means of controlling one's wife and dealing with family problems. In fact, there is a tendency toward the view that a wife should be beaten every once in a while (Parnas, 1967: 952).

The Structural theory of violence, which proposes that frustrations and other causes of violence are differentially distributed in a social structure, and that violence is learned, emphasizes factors such as blockage of goals, assignments of roles, and availability of resources to attain goals. A key focus of this theory is the notion of role assignments which are inconsistent with resources--thus leading to a blockage of goals. This is one reason why Structural theory is so appropriate to the family. In the family, roles are assigned on the basis of sex and accidents of birth. Hence, in the family we find a high proportion of instances in which the actor assigned to a role (for example husband-provider or wife-mother) does not have the resources (including personality traits) needed to fulfill that role. The inability of a husband to fill the provider role or the wife to fill the mother role may lead to blockage of goals and overt aggression towards another family member.

The final theory, Functional theory, may be applied to families by extending the proposal that violence is a means which enables the social unit

to survive. Thus, violence may be one functional way in which the family unit survives as an institution. Violent protest on the part of family underdogs such as children or women may be one mechanism by which the structure of the family does get revised to suit changing social circumstances.

On the other hand, this application of functional theory to the family may be quite controversial since it might be seen as proposing that a husband smashing his wife in the face is contributing to the durability and adaptability of the family unit. The intersection of functional theory, violence, and the family may be quite hard for many people to accept.

Toward a Theory of Family Violence

Given the suitability of nine theories of interpersonal violence (Frustration-Aggression, Learning theory, "Clockwork Orange," Self-Attitudes, Structural, Functional, Cultural, General Systems, and Resource theory) in explaining violence between family members, the next question is how does one treat family violence? In one sense family violence may be looked at as not essentially different than other forms of violence. From this perspective research on family violence could be conducted so as to verify or develop one or more of the general theories of interpersonal violence. On the other hand, violence in the family may be considered, for a variety of reasons, a special case of violence which requires its own body of theory to explain it. This paper takes as its starting point the assumption that violence between family members is a special enough case to study in its own right, rather than to use it to varify one or two theories of violence.

CONTROVERSIAL ASPECTS OF INTRA-FAMILY VIOLENCE IN NEED OF RESEARCH

Partly because so little empirical research has been done, and partly because analysis of the human family, and of violence in the family particularly,

involves deeply held values and widely contrasting scientific fields and theoretical committments, almost everything about violence in the family is controversial. Thus, everything which has been stated up to this point in the paper and in our previous writings on intra-family violence is likely to be strongly disputed. Out of this almost limitless number of controversial issues, we have singled out seventeen. Because of space limitations, some will be merely mentioned with a sentence or two. In general, our method will be to assert a proposition and then indicate what is controversial about it.

The Family is Preeminent in all Types of Violence. A close look at the evidence in the section on the frequency of family violence makes it clear that this statement is far from well established. The high frequency of physical punishment is not in doubt, but many would dispute the accuracy of calling this "violence". Such people are likely to distinguish between "force" as the legitimate use of physical control and "violence" as the illegitimate or unsanctioned use of physical control. If we choose to define physical punishment as non-violence, then a primary basis for the view of the family as an institution in which violence is nearly universal falls by the wayside.[5/]

Turning to husband-wife violence, our estimates of frequency are based on studies of families applying for divorce (O'Brien, 1971 ; Levinger, 1966), which may or may not be representative of the rest of the population; on an opinion survey, which may or may not be indicative of what people actually do (Stark and McEvoy, 1970); on questionnaires completed by college freshmen concerning what went on during their last year in high school (Straus, 1973); and on intensive interviews with 80 families in two cities in New Hampshire (Gelles, 1973b). Moreover, even these 80 cases are not necessarily indicative of the population at large since they are a non-random sample.

Families Today are Less (or more) Violent than in the 19th Century. The available evidence suggests that parents use physical punishment less frequently now (Bronfenbrenner, 1958 ; Miller and Swanson, 1958). However, there is no reliable evidence on fighting between siblings or between spouses. On the one hand, the change from the harsh conditions of life characteristic of agricultural an early industrial society to the physically less stressful conditions of an affluent industrial society, the changes in the legal status of women, and the growth of family advice literature stressing the importance of love and respect in family relationships would all suggest a reduction in these aspects of intra-family violence. On the other hand, a modern industrial society is widely felt to pose greater social and psychological stresses and to promote feelings of alienation and frustration than was true earlier--all of which can spur higher levels of violence. In addition, the extreme intimacy and closeness of the modern nuclear family, with its pressures for conformity may create greater stress and frustration within the family, which ultimately lead to physical violence.

It may be possible to use police and court records of family disturbance cases to get at least some leverage on this issue, as has been done in historical studies of mental illness rates (Eaton, 1955). However, differences in intervention and arrest practices and differences in the kind of offences thought serious enough to bring to trial may invalidate comparisons over time. Another possible approach is through the content analysis of popular literature, both fiction (Gecas, 1972) and non-fiction (Straus and Houghton, 1960).

Violence does not occur in "Normal" Families. From this viewpoint, only disorganized and pathological families engage in physical violence, i.e. families with problems such as unemployment, poverty, divorce or desertion, minority status, etc. If our estimates of the frequency of intra-family violence

are correct, either this assertion must be wrong or the majority of American families are abnormal. Of course, if one follows the practice followed in studies of child abuse and takes as an indication of abnormality the fact that a husband has hit his wife or visa versa, then the statement is obviously correct but we think also circular and of little value in furthering understanding of family violence. Despite our skepticism on this point, the available evidence does suggest that family disorganization is associated with violence, especially husband-wife violence. It remains to be determined empirically just how close this relationship is.

Family Members who use Violence are Mentally Ill or Excessively Aggressive. As far as we can determine, the basis for such a view is the type of circular reasoning described above. What little empirical evidence there is comes from studies of child abuse. Examination of these studies by Gelles (1973a) and Gil (1971: 642) suggests that "...in most incidents of child abuse the caretakers involved are 'normal' individuals exercising their perrogative of disciplining a child whose behavior they find in need of correction." We know of no empirical study of the mental health or personality of husbands and wives who use force on each other but we would guess that the results would be similar. The research on homicide (of which spouse murder is the largest single category) shows no larger incidence of mental illness than in the population at large. However, at least a plausable case can be made for the idea that spouses who use physical force tend to be aggressive personality types. This is a question which can be settled through a relatively straightforward research design. Such is not the case with the controversy over the role of alcohol in causing family violence which is discussed below.

Alcohol use Causes Family Violence. There is reasonably good evidence that alcohol is associated with violence in the family. But what is not clear

is whether people act violently because they are drunk or whether they get drunk in order to have implicit social permission to act violently. Empirical research on this issue will be extremely difficult because the actors themselves are committed to a definition of the situation in which violent acts are attributed to temporary loss of control due to alcohol.

The Lower the Socio-Economic Status of the Family, the More Violence.[6/] The evidence in support of such a proposition is mixed. In relation to the use of physical punishment, this does seem to be a correlation, but it is low (Erlanger, 1974). In relation to husband-wife violence, there apparently are no studies based on representative samples. Official statistics on assault, of which a substantial proportion are between spouses, show higher rates in the poorest areas of a city. However, officially recorded rates are by no means the same as incidence rates, as had been clearly shown in studies of juvenile offences (Nye and Short, 1958). The apparent class difference could be entirely a function of differences in public visibility and differences in willingness to call in the police to deal with family disputes.

We know of three studies based on direct interview data, but none provides a firm basis for generalization. Levinger's study of families seeking divorce found a 40% rate for "physical abuse" in the working class compared to 23% among his middle class respondents. But these differences could come about because middle class couples, with their greater financial resources and lower fear of the legal system, might seek divorce before the conflict escalates to the point of physical violence. Komarovsky's study of 58 "blue collar" families (1964) finds a sharply higher rate of physical violence among the lower educated half of her sample, but there is no way of telling how this compares with middle class families. Gelles study of 80 New Hampshire families also found that violence is greatest among the lowest education and occupation husbands. For the wives, no matter what the SES measure, there was a sharp upturn in violence among the highest group. The latter seems to be a family-structural effect rather than an SES effect, i.e. it may reflect role strain over inconsistency with the socially prescribed subordinate position of the wife.

Finally, there is the survey conducted for the National Commission on the causes and prevention of violence. This study found about one out of five respondents approved of slapping a spouse under certain conditions. There were no social class differences of any magnitude. However, although this study is based on a representative nation-wide survey, it refers to attitudes rather than acts and it is well known that the correlation between attitudes and behavior is low (Wicker, 1969).

Husbands and Fathers are more Violent than Wives and Mothers. If we compare the sexes in terms of violence in the parental role, the evidence is clear that women are more violent than men. They outnumber men as child abusers (Gelles, 1973a) and within the normal range are more often the parent who administers almost all types of physical punishment (Gelles, 1973b). It is also noteworthy that from Greek and Roman times on, it was women who were responsible for the often high rate if infanticide (Radbill, 1968).

In the spouses role, the situation is less clear. Straus' study of the families of 550 university students shows no difference between the frequency with which the father's and mother's of these students used violence. However, that study shows women to be more frequent users of physical aids in their assaults, i.e. throwing things, hitting with an object, etc. We take this as indicating that women are no less predisposed to violence than are men. To the extent that other studies show husbands to more often hit their wives than the reverse, we suggest it is only because women are on the average weaker than their husbands and hence have more to loose by such acts.

Gelles' study of 80 New Hampshire families found that husbands somewhat exceeded wives in the frequency of ever having used violence on the spouse (47% versus 33%). However, regular use of violence was much more often by the husbands (25% versus 11%) and husbands tended to use a much wider variety of modes of attack because the wives avoided modes which required

superior physical strength such as punching and choking. Instead, they tended to slap, throw things, hit with an object, or stab. It should be noted that although Gelles obtained data on both husbands and wives, his respondents were disproportionately female and this might have influenced the findings.

Sexual Equality and New Family Forms will Reduce Violence. A great deal of the physical violence between husband and wife is related to conflicts over power in the family (Straus, 1973a,b), and specifically to attempts by men to maintain their superior power position. One might therefore expect that as families become more equalitarian, violence between husband and wife will decrease. However, this will be the case only to the extent that men voluntarilly give up their priviledges. To the extent that sexual equality comes about by women demanding equal rights, the movement toward equality could well see a temporary increase in violence rather than a decrease.[7/] Aside from struggles over changing the rules of the marriage game, there is nothing inherent in an equal relationship which precludes conflict and violence over substantive issues. In fact, in the past to the extent that women accepted a subordinate position, must overt conflict may have been avoided by their accepting the husband's view of an issue.

As the boundaries between the sexes diminish, there might also be other reasons for an increase in family violence. Under the present sex role definitions, women are expected to be less aggressive violent than men. This aspect of sex role stereotyping is already changing to a limited degree. For example, the crime rates for women have begun to converge on those for men, especially violent crime (Roberts, 1971). There is now even a national television show which features an aggressive James Bond type of woman "hero" (Mod Squad), and a movie called "Super Chick".

Turning to radical changes in the structure of the family, there is a widespread belief that such "alternative family forms" will be less violent.

In part, this belief is based on the view that in rejecting the "middle class family" there will be a movement away from middle class striving and aggressiveness. In part it is based on the idea that a larger social group will prove more outlets and alternatives and less frustrations. But on both theoretical grounds as well as the meager empirical evidence which is now available, the opposite might well be the case. The alternative "multilateral" family forms may provide more opportunities for sexual and other jealousy, even though they are set up with the opposite intent. To the extent that such families constitute large households, they will require more rigid rules than a nuclear family in order to accomplish the ordinary physical maintainance activities. In addition, many such groups seem to be imbedded with an agrarian romantic ideology glorifying a sharp division of labor between men and women. Finally, research on family size shows that the larger the size (whether measured by number of children or by comparing nuclear with joint households), the greater the use of physical punishment.

Materialism and Striving are Associated with Violence. The alienation generated by modern mass society has led many to reject not only the mass society, but the types of achievement orientation and striving behavior which are assumed to have produced modern technological societies. All of the ills of the society, including violence, tend to be attributed to the excessive achievement striving. However, it would be difficult to document a case showing that the high level of violence and the many other grave problems of contemporary American society, would be allievated if Americans became less achievement oriented. Rather we think that the solution to these problems must be found in changes in social organization rather than changes in the typical personality structure.

Although these are broad socio-historical questions on which there may never be a conclusive answer, we can at least investigate certain aspects, and

some limited studies have already been carried out. For example, Miller and Swanson's historical survey and, to a certain extent their contemporary data, show that entrepreneurially oriented parents tend to train their children in the "school of hard knocks" (Miller and Swanson, 1958). On the other hand, the studies of Kohn (1969) show that middle class parents (who presumably best represent the striving ethic) are less punitive than are working class parents. There is also evidence from the longitudinal study of Eron and his colleagues (Eron, 1973) that high achievement orientation is associated with low levels of aggression and Straus' study of the fathers and mothers of 550 college students finds the same negative relationship.

Despite these findings, there could well be a relationship between a high level of achievement orientation in a society and violence. This could come about because, although almost everyone can internalize the desire for high accomplishment, not everyone can actually satisfy such desires. A generation ago Merton called our attention to the deviance-producing potential of such a discrepency between culturally prescribed ends and the means actually available to reach such ends (Merton, 1938). Within the family, studies such as those of O'Brien (1971) and Straus (1973b) and the theoretical analysis of Goode (1971) suggest that violence is likely to occur when a husband lacks the occupational and economic accomplishments which he and his spouse expect husbands to attain.

Violence in the Family has Positive Functions. Most people's view of the good society is one with a minimum or zero level of violence--in the family or elsewhere. But conflict theorists such as Coser (1966) point out that conflict, sometimes violent conflict, is a fundamental and often constructive part of social organization. It is a primary engine for social change and development and for the underdog to gain greater rights. Thus, non-violence

is only one of the characteristics of a good society; another is that is must be open to change and to correcting inequities. There are occasions in which the value of non-violence and the value of equity and openness to change conflict. It is in these situations that violence can have important positive contributions to human welfare.

Of the three positive contributions of violence discussed by Coser, two seem to apply to the family. These are "violence as a danger signal" and "violence as a catalyst". Thus, within the family, violent acts by a member can serve as a means of communication when other modes of communication fail to signal that there are serious problems; and violent acts can be a catalyst in bringing about need changes when all else fails. In principle there should never be a situation in which all else fails. But conflict theorists argue that such situations do exist because alternative modes of resolving conflicts and inequities are either unknown to the persons involved, unavailable to them, or unavailable until some violent act serves as a catalyst to bring non-violent methods into operation. Therefore, unless we are prepared to live with inequity and injustice, and in a static society, it is almost inevitable that violence will remain a part of human social organization, including the family.

We have stated the case for the conflict theory of the positive functions of violence in strong terms as possible, perhaps in part to compensate for our own misgivings about the validity of these propositions. At the minimum we feel that, rather than accept the inevitability of violence in family relationships, we sould focus research on the development of modes of social relationship and institutional patterns which will make violence unnecessary to achieve equity, freedom and openness to change. Realism, however, compels us to fear that a truly non-violent society will be long time in the making. The conflict theorists may even be correct in their view that it is impossible except in a

static society. At the same time, "realism" has its dangers. It can be a self-fulfilling prophecy or a subtle defense of the status quo--in this case of the present high level of violence between family members.

Other Controversies. Although it has taken a number of pages to describe ten controversial propositions about violence in the family, this is only the beginning of what should be a much longer set. However, because of space limitations, we will conclude with a simple listing of a few of the other controversial propositions which, if space permitted, we would discuss at least briefly:

1. The sex drive is biologically linked to aggressiveness and violence versus the view that the historical association between sex and violence is a product of certain features of human culture and social organization. This issue is discussed as "the sex myth" in Straus and Steinmetz (1973, 1974).

2. Excessive restraints on "normal" aggression and violence lead to even greater stresses and outbursts of truly destructive violence. This issue is discussed as "the catharsis myth" in Straus and Steinmetz (1973, 1974). Another aspect is the idea that verbal conflict and violence are a substitute for physical violence: permitting one tends to avoid the other (Bach and Wyden, 1968).

3. Violence in the family reflects the prevalence of violence in the society at large; both a national "culture of violence" and a more intense form of this in certain subcultures (Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967). It should follow that societies having low levels of violence outside the family, also have low levels of intra-family violence.

4. Any use of physical punishment has enough undesirable consequences to make it essential that physical punishment be completely eliminated as a child management technique. Among the undesirable consequences are the powerful

role model it provides in the use of violence. This, in combination with the frustrations and anger produced by physical punishment help to produce the next generation of violent people.

5. It follows from the above that violence in the family is one of the factors which helps produce a violent society in general; one in which not only are all forms of interpersonal violence common, but which also has a high propensity to use violence in national and international politics (Owens and Straus, 1973).

6. Physical punishment is one of the factors leading to child abuse, if not in any one family, then in the society as a whole (Gil, 1971).

METHODOLOGY OF RESEARCH ON FAMILY VIOLENCE

One of the factors underlying the paucity of research on violence in the family is that the topic is extremely sensitive and tabooed as a topic for public discussion. Consequently, there may be massive problems of under-reporting. The research may, in fact, have to ask the leading and highly reactive question: "When did you stop beating your wife?" In general, sociologists who study such sensitive areas or tabooed topics (Farberow, 1966) as sexual behavior, sexual deviancy, criminal behavior, or family violence face the initial problem of getting people to talk or to permit observation of the behavior. Having breached this gap the researcher is then faced with problems of subject reactivity or distortion of responses. Subjects may be embarrassed to talk about the behavior; they may perceive "demand characteristics" of the instrument or situation (Orne, 1962) and respond in a socially acceptable manner; they also may be insulted by the researcher's technique, tone, or questions and refuse to continue, or, as was feared by Humphreys (1970: 41) the researcher who asks the wrong questions may finish his research with a series of beatings by subjects. For these and other reasons,

the sociologist comtemplating research on sensitive or tabooed topics faces delicate problems of design and instrumentation. We will briefly deal with some of the possible solutions for these problems when studying tabooed topics in general and family violence in particular.

Contacting Subjects and Establishing Rapport

The first problem faced by the researcher is contacting subjects. It would have been difficult for Kinsey (1948) in his study of sexual behavior, to ring doorbells and ask each randomly selected respondent for his sexual biography. Similarly, Ned Polsky (1969) would find it difficult to ask professional gunmen for their career history. And certainly Laud Humphreys was not keen on the notion of beginning an interview by telling his subject that he had chosen him to interview because he had observed him engaged in a homosexual act in a men's room (1970: 41).

Snowball Sampling. The method these researchers used to establish contact was the "snowballing technique." The "snowballing technique" beg .s by establishing rapport with one subject and having him recommend the researcher to other people who are engaged in similar behavior. Thus, Kinsey used influencial group or community members to recommend him and his study to respondents (1948: 39). In this manner he was eventually able to survey an entire community. Erich Goode's (1969) study of marijuana smokers used a "snowballing technique" of having marijuana users inform Goode of others. Similarly, Polsky (1969) was able to snowball his contacts with subjects in his study of professional gunmen. The benefits of this technique is that it provides the researcher with a growing list of subjects which he can draw from. Its other benefit is that in recommending subjects to the researcher the informant can also give the new subject a recommendation on the researcher and his project. Thus, the

researcher does not begin cold, as his new subject has a friend's word on the worth of the project and trustworthiness of the researcher.

Rapport. After having made the contact with subjects the researcher's next task is to conduct his research in a climate of low subject reactivity. The main guideline proposed by researchers in sensitive areas is the necessity of establishing good rapport with the subject. Kinsey (1948), Polsky (1969), and Blum (1970) make the point that the key aspect of the interview is to establish rapport with the subject so that the researcher has the full confidence and trust of the subject. To achieve this confidence and trust the researcher must be able to present a credible professional image in himself and his project and guarantee the confidentiality of the subject's responses.

Although each author provides special recipes for establishing rapport, one similar approach is to begin by discussing common interests with the subject. Polsky (1969) recommends beginning the research by engaging in leisure activities with the subject, for example playing pool, playing cards, drinking, talking sports, etc. Kinsey explains that an effective way of establishing rapport is to begin by discussing common interests (1948: 47).

Another means of establishing rapport with subjects is to become a participant in the activity itself. Thus, Laud Humphrey's (1970) in attempting to study homosexual acts in public places actually became a participant in the action by serving as a lookout for the participants in public men's rooms.

All the researchers cited assert that after establishing contact and rapport the researcher has solved the main problems of reactivity and distortion. In fact, most state that once trust and confidence have been established it is sometimes difficult to get the subject to stop talking about the tabooed area since the interview becomes a cathartic release for him.

While we do not doubt these accounts, it does seem that the researchers are placing a great deal of weight and faith in establishing rapport. It would seem likely that other methods could be developed for researching sensitive areas without placing so much weight on the establishment of rapport. In the next few pages, therefore, we will describe four techniques which reduce the dependence of the study on establishing close rapport.

Revealed Violence. Since a major problem is the possibility that respondents will not report incidents of family violence, this precludes obtaining the kind of detailed information needed to advance our understanding of the phenomenon. This difficulty can be met by selecting cases in which the fact of violence has already been revealed and hence can be denied only with difficulty. The researcher can select his cases on the basis of monitoring police calls by daily inspection of the police blotter. Calls involving family violence can, for the most part, be identified because they go by terms such as "family disturbance". The researcher should attempt to interview the family members within 24 hours of the incident. These cases are then matched with neighbors who have no record of police mediated family conflict. The goal of such a study would be to assess causes of family violence and differences between violent and non-violent families in terms of meanings and usage of violence.

Advantages: This approach depends on the assumption that an interview immediately after a violent incident vastly reduces underreporting. It might also be cathartic for the family members. Thus, rather than refusing to be interviewed or reacting unfavorably to the interview, they may well use the interview situation to release their distress over the incident. This method provides a novel was of getting cases and the catharsis assumption would aid in establishing rapport and reducing distortion.

Disadvantages: A high rate of refusals or incomplete interviews might negate the catharis assumption. Secondly, the data is not generalizable since the sample is biased by the method of selection. One would not expect many middle or upper class cases to show up in the monitoring.

Projective Techniques. A projective test such as the Thematic Apperception test or sentence completion tests can serve as a disguised instrument to measure sensitive variables (Straus, 1964), provided one is interested in determining internal states such as attitudes, motivations, needs, and values.

Using this technique, the traditional interview is replaced or supplimented by a projective technique--thus relieving the researcher from the task of asking "When did you stop beating your wife?" This method is being used by a University of Miami Psychologist, Edith Lord (Behavior Today, 1971: 2). Lord administered pictures of misbehaving children to 50 child beaters and 50 controls in order to identify motivations for beating children.

In another study Gelles (1973c) was interested in determining the extent to which which sexual fantasy is associated with fantasies of aggression. The importance of this is that some theories of sexuality assert that in humans the symbolic aspects of sexuality are essential for the physical acts (Gagnon, 1965). Thus, it may be significant that this study found sexual and aggressive fantasies to be correlated for men but not for women.

Advantages: The projective technique is administered to reduce the reactivity of interview questions and the possible social desirability effect of answering questions about child beating, sex, and adult violence. Allowing respondents to project their feelings will hopefully reduce their reactivity in comparison to an interview instrument which puts people on the defensive by directly referring to their own families.

Disadvantages: Although projective techniques measure intra-individual states at least as well as any other technique--and probably better in the case of taboo topics--one must be careful not to confuse such data with data on acts of violence.

Indirect Interviews. This technique involves some deception in that the researcher never indicates he is studying family violence. Rather, he develops an instrument to assess "community relations". Some of the questions might be: "Do your neighbors ever bother you, say by making too much noise?", "What is the nature of this noise (television, Hi Fi, family arguments, family fights, child crying)?", "How often does this occur?". The next set of questions might concern that family bothering its neighbors: "Do you think you ever bother your neighbor (by having a loud argument or something more severe)?".

A closely related indiscrete approach would be to make the subject family the neighbor of the family being interviewed. That is, data on family violence would not be obtained from the subject family itself, but by interviewing those living in adjacent houses or apartments. The data on violence could be supplemented by direct interviews of the subject families to obtain information on social background characteristics and other aspects of family relationships. This technique might also be used as supplement to interviews directly with the subject families in order to obtain estimates of underreporting.

Advantages: The indirect interviewing technique is essentially a method of legitimizing discussion of what would otherwise be taboo for discussion. The interviewing of neighbors can provide estimates of underreporting and also on the social definitions of violence to which the subject family is exposed. Such a technique would be critical if one is interested in the question of legitimate versus illegitimate violence.

Disadvantages: The distinct disadvantage is the deception used in presenting the study as a research on "community relations". If neighbors

are interviewed about violence in other families, then there is also the risk of adverse reactions to being cast in the role of "squealer".

Adult Children as Observers. A final technique for dealing with the problem of underreporting when the data depends on self-report interviews is to use an adult child as the source of information concerning his parents. The interview or questionnaire would focus on the behavior of the respondents parents in their roles as husbands and wives rather than in their parental role since the child is a part of the latter role relationship.

Both Straus and Steinmetz are now analyzing data from two different samples of college students using this technique. In both these studies, the students (largely freshmen) were asked to describe events in their family during their last year in high school when they were living at home. Results to date are quite promising (Straus, 1973a,b).

Advantages: The child is reporting on the behavior of others rather than self-reporting and may therefore be less defensive, thereby reducing the problem of underreporting.

Disadvantages: Even though the child was a member of the household in the recent past, there may still be underreporting due to the following for the following reasons: (1) Parents may take care to restrict their violent acts to times when the child is not present. We suspect that this is particularly likely to be the case in middle class families where the overt norms are most strongly against use of physical force. (2) The child, even though no longer a member of the household, may, nonetheless, also feel defensive and hence may also underreport.

Laboratory Experimental Methods. The ideal in scientific research is that the investigator have as direct access to the phenomena under study as possible. It is for this reason that in sociology, there has always been

strong support for participant observational studies despite their lack of quantative precision. The laboratory experiment is thought of by most sociologists as being at the opposite end of the methodological spectrum from participant observation, and in certain ways this is correct. However, it shares with participant observation the key feature of direct observation of the phenomenon. One shared element is that the experimenter, like the participant observer, does not depend for his data on the accuracy of recall or perception of respondents, or on the respondents willingness to describe events. He can observe them himself (although his perceptions are obviously influenced by his own appercetive structure). In the case of a taboo topic such as violence between family members, we feel that direct observation is a particularly valuable feature of the laboratory experiment.

Moreover, laboratory studies need not be experiments in the exact sense of that term. They can be what is sometimes termed "structured performance" research, in which the subject families are observed interacting under standard conditions but without any specific experimental variable. The independent variable in such studies can be some pre-existing characteristic such as social class (middle class versus working class) or known child abusers versus a cross section of families in a similar stage of the family life cycle.

Finally, although laboratory studies are typically thought of as being in the rigid hypothesis-testing style of research, this is not necessary. The laboratory, like the field, can be the locus of much exploratory research. Watching a family deal with a standard experimental situation almost always suggests important patterns of behavior which were not originally anticipated, and such observation usually gives clues to the processes underlying the behavior of the family. Thus, the laboratory can be locus of theory development as well as theory testing.

An immediate objection to proposals to conduct laboratory experiments with families is that it is either impossible or unethical to reproduce in the laboratory the conditions needed. After all, we cannot randomly assign marriage partners to determine if certain combinations of traits in the husband and wife produce certain types of marital relationships. Similarly, it is widely felt that experiments are not possible because, ethical considerations aside, the events under study cannot be duplicated in the laboratory. However, duplication of the natural event is not necessary either in the social sciences or in any other science. Instead, important and valid experiments can be carried out based on the principle of experimental isomorphism, or experimental analogy. That is, the events in the laboratory need to correspond to the real world only in respect to the variables specified in the hypothesis. Another way of putting this is to say that a valid experiment can be carried out even when the experimental variable is "phenomenally different" from the events in the natural setting, as long as the experimentally produced variable is "conceptually similar" (Rieken, 1954; Straus, 1969). In short, the theoretically specified variables which are the object of experimentation need not be manifest in the same form as in nature, nor must they have the same intensity as found in nature as long as they are parallel to those aspects of the natural event which are specified in the theory (Zelditch and Evan, 1962; Zelditch and Hopkins, 1961).

Straus' research on the effects of a crisis on family relationships is an example of the principle of experimental isomorphism. In this study, the independent variable--crisis--was simulated by means of a problem solving task called the SIMFAM technique (Straus and Tallman, 1971). The problem presented in the SIMFAM technique is a game played with balls and pushers which has proven to be highly engaging to participating families of all social levels in three countries. The families in the experimental or "crisis" group worked on a task

for a period of time with apparent great success. The laboratory analog of a natural crisis was created by manipulations which radically altered their previous successes to a continuous series of failures. The contrasting control group of families continued to work on the task with a high level of success (Straus, 1970).

The SIMFAM experimental technique could also be used in studies of family violence. For example, Gelles' analysis of child abuse suggests that abusing parents tend to be those who themselves abused as children or subject to severe physical punishment. Rather than being mentally ill, as posited by most theories of child abuse, Gelles holds that such parents are simply drawing on the behavior models which they learned as children. However, both as children and as adults they probably also learned the societal values which declare that beating children is wrong. But under stress, such people tend to fall back on the earlier, affectively laden learning based on their experiences at the hands of their parents.

This model can be at least partially tested in the laboratory using the SIMFAM technique. A two stage research is necessary. In the first stage a random sample of parents of children of certain ages would be interviewed to find out the extent to which they experienced physical punishment as children. The second stage would be a 2 by 3 randomized blocks design experiment. The parents would be divided into low, middle, and high groups in respect to the degree of physical punishment they experienced. Then a random sample of each of these groups would be exposed to the crisis and control conditions as part of the SIMFAM ball and pusher task. The hypothesis is that parents in the block which experienced high physical punishment as children would, even under the mild stress created in the laboratory, would tend to have higher rates of such aggressive behaviors toward the child as blaming him for the failure of

the family, verbal abuse of the child, and use of physical punishment. Physical punishment in this situation would be particularly indicative of the likelihood of severe punishment and abuse under natural setting stress conditions since the crisis experienced by the family is the result of outside forces (the experimental manipulation) rather than anything the child has done incorrectly. In addition, there might be a post experimental measurement of aggressive fantasy obtained by means of a picture interpretation projective test similar to the Thematic Apperception Test.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have tried to share the results of the thinking and some of the preliminary results of our program of research on violence in the family. Since violence between family members has received relatively little attention from sociologists, and since our own research program is at an early stage, the paper is more in the nature of a programatic statement than a presentation of sociological findings concerning family violence. Yet certain things do stand out, even though each is the subject of controversy. We will summarize them as a series of brief propositions.

1. Violence in the family is a unique and important enough phenomenon to merit intensive sociological research. Such research is likely to yield both theoretical pay-off concerning the nature of the family and also better understanding of all aspects of violence, both within and outside the family.

2. The present state of theoretical knowledge concerning the cause of intra-family violence offers a rich but confusing variety. Both intensive empirical research and careful theoretical synthesis are urgently needed to bring order to this array.

3. Although there are important methodological difficulties which stand in the way of the needed empirical research, none are insurmountable. All of the

standard methods of sociological research can and should be used, including participant observation, informal and structured interviews, projective techniques and indirect interviewing, and laboratory experimentation. Each of these techniques has its own set of limitations and advantages. But out of the triangulation which will be possible from such a heteromethod approach, we are confident that a valid set of empirical propositions can be constructed.

References

Bach, George R. and Peter Wyden
1968 The Intimate Enemy. New York: Avon Books (William Morrow and Co.).

Bakan, David
1971 Slaughter of the Innocents: A Study of the Battered Child Phenomenon. Boston: Beacon Press.

Bales, R. F.
1950 Interaction Process Analysis: A Method for the Study of Small Groups. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley.

Bandura, Albert, D. Ross, and S. Ross
1961 "Transmission of aggression through imitation of aggressive models." Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology 63:575-582.

Bandura, Albert, and Richard H. Walters
1963 Social Learning and Personality Development. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Becker, Howard S.
1963 Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance. New York: Free Press.

Berkowitz, Leonard
1962 Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Bettelheim, Bruno
1966 "Violence: a neglected mode of behavior." The Annals. 364:50-59. (Also reprinted on pp. 35-48 in Shalom Endleman [ed.], 1970, Violence in the Streets. Chicago: Quadrangle Paperbacks).

1967 "Children should learn about violence." Saturday Evening Post 240(March):10-12.

Blum, Fred H.
1970 "Getting individuals to give information to the outsider." Pp. 83-90 in William J. Filstead (ed.), Qualitative Methodology: Firsthand Involvement with the Social World. Chicago: Markham Publishing Co.

Blumberg, M.
1964-1965 "When parents hit out." 20th Century 173(Winter):39-44.

Bronfenbrenner, Urie
1958 "Socialization and social class through time and space." Pp. 400-425 in E. E. Maccoby, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley (eds.), Readings in Social Psychology. New York: Holt.

Brown, Claude
1965 Manchild in the Promised Land. New York: New American Library. (Pp. 263-271 reprinted as "The family and the subculture of violence," in Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (eds.), Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1974).

Buckley, Walter
1967 Sociology and Modern Systems Theory. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Burgess, Anthony
1962 A Clockwork Orange. New York: Ballantine Books Inc.

Calvert, Robert
1974 "Criminal and civil liability in husband-wife assaults." In Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (eds.), Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1974).

Cohen, Albert K.
1955 Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang. New York: The Free Press.

Coles, Robert
1964 "Terror-struck children." New Republic 150(May):11-13.

Coser, Lewis A.
1966 "Some social functions of violence." Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 364(March):8-18.

1967 Continuities in the Study of Social Conflict. New York: The Free Press.

Davis, Fred
1961 "Deviance disavowal: the management of strained interaction by the viaibly handicapped." Social Problems 9(Fall):120-132.

Dexter, Lewis Anthony
1958 "A note on selective inattention in social science." Social Problems (6):176-182.

Dollard, John, Leonard W. Dobb, Neal E. Miller, I. Hobart Mowrer, and Robert R. Sears
1939 Frustration and Aggression. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Durkheim, Emile
1951 Suicide: A Study in Sociology. Translated by John A. Spaulding and George Simpson. New York: The Free Press.

Eaton, Joseph W.
1955 Culture and Mental Disorders. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Erlanger, Howard S.
1974 "Social class difference in parents use of physical punishment." In Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (eds.), Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1974.

Eron, Leonard D.
1973 "How learning conditions in early childhood, including mass media, relate to aggression in late adolescence." Paper read at the 1973 meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

Eron, Leonard D., Leopold O. Walder, and Monroe M. Lefkowitz
1971 Learning of Aggression in Children. Boston: Little, Brown.

Etzioni, Amitai
1971 "Violence." Chapter 14 in Robert K. Merton and Robert A. Nisbet (eds.), Contemporary Social Problems. Third Edition. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Farberow, Norman L.
1966 Taboo Topics. New York: Atherton Press.

Faulkner, Robert R.
1971 "Violence, camaraderie, and occupational character in hockey." (mimeographed).

Ferreira, Antonio
1963 "Family myth and homeostatis." Archives of General Psychiatry 9:457-463. (As reprinted in Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), The Family. New York: Free Press).

Frank, Jerome D.
1972 "Some psychological determinants of violence and its control." Aust. and N.Z. Journal of Psychiatry 6:158-164.

Gagnon, John G.
1965 "Sexuality and sexual learning in children." Psychiatry 28(3):212-228.

Garfinkel, Harold
1967 Studies in Ethnomethodology. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Gecas, Viktor
1972 "Motives and aggressive acts in popular fiction: sex and class differences." American Journal of Sociology 77(January):680-696.

Gelles, Richard J.
1973a "Child abuse as psychopathology: a sociological critique and reformulation." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, in press. In Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (eds.), Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1974.

1973b "An exploratory study of intra-family violence." Durham: University of New Hampshire, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation.

1973c "On the association of sex and violence in the fantasy production of college students." Paper presented at the 1973 meetings of the American Sociological Association.

Gil, David G.
1970 Violence Against Children. Boston: Harvard University Press.

1971 "Violence against children." Journal of Marriage and the Family 33(November):637-649.

Gillen, John Lewis
1946 The Wisconsin Prisoner: Studies in Crimogenesis. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.

Goode, Erich
1969 "Multiple drug use among marijuana smokers." Social Problems 17(Summer):48-64.

Goode, William J.
1971 "Force and violence in the family." Journal of Marriage and the Family 33(November):624-636. (Also reprinted in Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (eds.), Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1974).

Guttmacher, Manfred
1960 The Mind of the Murderer. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy.

Hess, Robert D. and Gerald Handel
1959 Family Worlds. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Humphreys, Laud
1970 Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places. Chicago: Aldine.

Kaplan, Howard B.
1972 "Toward a general theory of psychosocial deviance: the case of aggressive behavior." Social Science and Medicine 6:593-617.

Kempe, C. Henry et al
1962 "The battered-child syndrome." Journal of the American Medical Association 181(July 7):17-24.

Kinsey, Alfred C., Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin
1948 Sexual Behavior in the Human Male. Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co.

Klausner, Samuel Z. (ed.)
1968 Why Man Takes Chanses: Studies in Stress-seeking. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Kohn, Melvin L.
1969 Class and Conformity: A Study in Values. Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press.

Kolb, Trudy M. and Murray A. Straus
1973 "Marital power and marital happiness in relation to problem solving ability." Journal of Marriage and the Family. In Press.

Komarovsky, Mirra
1940 The Unemployed Man and His Family. New York: The Dryden Press. Pp. 449-457 in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (eds.), The Language of Social Research (1955). New York: Free Press.

1964 Blue-Collar Marriage. New York: Random House.

Laing, R. D. and David G. Cooper
1964 Reason and Violence: A Decade of Sartre's Philosphy, 1950-1960. London: Travistock Publications.

LeShan, Eda
1970 "The pros and cons of spanking." Woman's Day(July):34+ From Natural Parenthood: Raising Your Child Without a Script. New York: New American Library.

Levinger, George
1966 "Sources of marital dissatisfaction among applicants for divorce." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 36(October):803-807. (Also reprinted in Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (eds.), Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1974).

Lyman, Stanford M. and Marvin B. Scott
1970 A Sociology of the Absurd. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.

MacAndrew, Craig and Robert B. Edgerton
1969 Drunken Comportment: A Social Explanation. Chicago: Aldine.

McCaghy, Charles H.
1968 "Drinking and deviance disavowal: the case of child molesters." Social Problems 16(1):43-49.

Mead, Margaret and Francis Cooke MacGregor
1951 Growth and Culture: A Photographic Study of Balinese Children. New York: G. P. Putnum's Sons.

Merton, Robert K.
1938 "Social structure and anomie." American Sociological Review 3(October):672-682.

Miller, Daniel R. and Guy E. Swanson
1958 The Changing American Parent: A Study in the Detroit Area. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Miller, Neal E.
1941 "The frustration-aggression hypothesis." Psychological Review 48:337-342.

Naegele, Kaspar D.
1951 "Some problems in the study of hostility and aggression in miedle-class American families." Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Sciences XVII(February):65-75. Pp. 417-428 in Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel (eds.), A Modern Introduction to the Family. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press.

Nye, F. Ivan, James F. Short, Jr., and Virgil J. Olson
1958 "Socioeconomic status and delinquent behavior." American Journal of Sociology 63(February):381-389.

O'Brien, John E.
1971 "Violence in divorce prone families." Journal of Marriage and the Family 33(November):692-698.

Orne, Martin T.
1962 "On the social psychology of the psychological experiment: with particular reference to demand characteristics and their implications." American Psychologist 17:776-783.

Owens, David and Murray A. Straus
1973 "Childhood violence and adult approval of violence." Paper presented at the 1973 meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

Palmer, Stuart
1962 The Psychology of Murder. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co.

1972 The Violent Society. New Haven: College and University Press.

Parnas, Raymond I.
1967 "The police response to the domestic disturbance." Wisconsin Law Review 914(Fall):914-960.

Polsky, Ned
1969 Hustlers, Beats, and Others. Garden City, New York: Anchor Books.

Radbill, Samuel L.
1968 "A history of child abuse and infanticide." Pp. 3-18 in Ray E. Helfer and C. Henry Kempe (eds.), The Battered Child. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Rieken, Henry W. et al.
1954 "Narrowing the gap between field studies and laboratory experiment in social psychology: a statement of the summer seminar." Social Science Research Council Items 8(December):37-42.

Roberts, Steven V.
1971 "Crime rates of women up sharply over men's." New York Times (June 13):1 + 72.

Shaffer, Jerome A. (ed.)
1971 Violence: Award-Winning Essays in the Council for Philosophical Studies Competition. New York: David McKay.

Singer, Jerome
1971 The Control of Aggression and Violence. New York: Academic Press.

Spinetta, John J. and David Rigler
1972 "The child-abusing parent: A psychological review." Psychological Bulletin 77(April):296-304.

Stark, Rodney and James McEvoy III
1970 "Middle class violence." Psychology Today 4(November):52-65.

Steele, Brandt F. and Carl B. Pollack
1968 "A psychiatric study of parents who abuse infants and small children." Pp. 103-147 in Ray E. Helfer and C. Henry Kempe (eds.), The Battered Child. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Steinmetz, Suzanne K.
1971 "Occupation and physical punishment: a response to Straus." Journal of Marriage and the Family 33(November):664-666.

1974 "Occupational environment in relation to physical punishment and dogmatism." In Suzanne K. Steinmetz and Murray A. Straus (eds.), Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co.

Steinmetz, Suzanne K. and Murray A. Straus
1973a "Five myths about violence in the family." Society (formerly Transaction), in press.

Steinmetz, Suzanne K. and Murray A. Straus (eds.)
1974 Violence in the Family. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co.

Straus, Murray A.
1964 "Measuring families." Chapter 10 in Harold T. Christensen (ed.), Handbook of Marriage and the Family. Chicago: Rand McNally.

1969 "Phenomenal identity and conceptual equivalence of measurement in cross-national research." Journal of Marriage and the Family 31(May):233-239.

1970 "Methodology of a laboratory experimental study of families in three societies." Pp. 552-577 in Reuben Hill and Rene Konig (eds.), Families East and West. Paris: Mouton.

1971 "Some social antecedents of physical punishment: a linkage theory interpretation." Journal of Marriage and the Family 33(November): 658-663.

1973a "A general systems theory approach to the development of a theory of violence between family members." Social Science Information, in press.

1973b "Marital power and husband-wife violence." Paper to be presented at the 1973 meeting of the National Council on Family Relations.

Straus, Murray A. and Lawrence J. Houghton
1960 "Achievement, affiliation, and co-operation values as clues to trends in american rural society, 1924-1958." Rural Sociology 25(December):394-403.

Straus, Murray A. and Irving Tallman
1971 "SIMFAM: A technique for observational measurement and experimental study of families." In Joan Aldous et al. (eds.), Family Problem Solving. Hinsdale, Illinois: Dryden.

Wasserman, Sidney
1967 "The abused parent of the abused child." Children 14(September-October):175-179.

Webb, Eugene J., Donald T. Campbell, Richard D. Schwartz, and Lee Sechrest
1966 Unobtrusive Measures: Nonreactive Research in the Social Sciences. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Wicker, A. W.
1969 "Attitudes versus actions: the relationship of verbal and overt behavior responses to attitude objects." Journal of Social Issues 25(Autumn):41-78.

Wolfgang, Marvin E.
1958 Patterns in Criminal Homicide. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc.

Wolfgang, Marvin E. and F. Ferracuti
1967 The Subculture of Violence: Toward an Integrated Theory of Criminology. London: Tavistock.

Zelditch, Morris Jr., and William M. Evan
1962 "Simulated bureaucracies: a methodological analysis." Pp. 48-60 in Harold Guetzkow (ed.), Simulation in Social Science: Readings. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall.

Zelditch, Morris Jr., and Terence K. Hopkins.
1961 "Laboratory experiments with organizations." Pp. 464-478 in Amitai Etzioni (ed.), Complex Organizations: A Sociological Reader. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc.

FOOTNOTES

* Paper prepared as the basis for a seminar discussion at the 1973 meeting of the American Sociological Association. Preparation of this paper and the research on violence between family members was supported by NIMH grants 15521 (for research on Problem Solving Behavior of Family Groups) and 24002 (for an Exploratory Study of Family Violence).

1. For other definitions of violence, see Schaeffer, 1971. It should be noted that our definition of violence deliberately omits what is often called verbal violence and also violence in the sense of used by Laing and Cooper (1964), that is, pressures towards social conformity. See also Steinmetz and Straus (1974) for the distinction between violence as used here and the more general concepts of aggression and cruelty.

2. Jerome Frank (1972) has developed a similar taxonomy combining the instrumental-expressive dimension with the dimension of individual versus collective violence. He introduces the legitimacy dimension in the text accompanying the taxonomic table, but unfortunately, does so in a way which confounds collective violence with legitimacy.

3. To reach this conclusion the total number of New York City homicides for the first six months of 1972 (810) was divided by .45, which is the proportion of homicides in which the victim is related to the murder (as estimated by Goode, 1971: 631). This resulted in 364 deaths as compared to 466 dead in Northern Ireland.

4. See Gelles, 1973 for summaries of these theories.

5. See the discussion of "Which Norms?" earlier in this paper for one of the practical difficulties in the way of such a distinction.

6. See Steinmetz and Straus, 1973,1974 for a more extensive analysis of this issue. The same applies to certain of the other controversies which are only briefly discussed in this paper.

7. See Kolb and Straus (1973) for evidence that husband-led families have lower levels of conflict in contemporary American society.